The German Tribune

Hamburg, 12 November 1989
Twenty-eighth year - No. 1395 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858
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A million take to the streets in massive East Berlin protest

In an unprecedented mass demonstration over one million people converged on Alexanderplatz in East Berlin to challenge the monopoly of power enjoyed by the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) and to demand far-reaching changes in the GDR. Well over 100,000 people demonstrated for greater freedom in other East German cities. The three-hour gathering on Alexanderplatz was screened without prior announcement on East German TV.

Never before in the GDR have hundreds of thousands of people taken to the streets in East Berlin and millions more followed the progress of the demonstration on radio and TV.

It was as though an entire nation was transfixed by an event that must have been felt, by the powers that be, as though they were being divested of their legitimation.

The atmosphere in the GDR was that of a plebiscite or referendum. The mass, non-violent demonstration in the capital city of the other German state sounded the death knoll of the Socialist Unity Party's monopoly of power.

That the SED might continue to lay down the law on its own is now barely imaginable, and Party leader Egon Krenz seems most unlikely to succeed in holding on to all the strings of power.

His promises of reforms give rise to suspicions of being no more than tactical manoeuvres aimed at salvaging for the SED what remains to be salvaged.

In East Berlin the people have shown, in a way that was partly amusing, partly touchingly naive, and absolutely peaceful, that they are no longer prepared to stomach the use of terror to impose opinions on a public that is not allowed to hold views of its own.

They are no longer prepared to stomach the tedium, the inability to walk tall and, in short, socialism as practised in the GDR, a living lie encompassing all sectors of society. Speculation is now rife on how long the new SED leader can withstand pressure from below and whether doses of reform can still keep the clamour for revolutionary change in check.

The hard-pressed system is on the brink of collapse.

If Erich Honecker had offered people in the GDR only half what Egon Krenz is now offering, and had he done so before the mass exodus of young people from the GDR to the Federal Republic, the SED would not now be up against it.

But recent protestations of the spirit of socialism past are too fresh in the mind for people to feel at ease in the wake of hectic dismissals of old-guard officials and balanced concessions to elementary requirements of democracy.

Saturation point of the needs so deeply felt by a people starved of freedom will not be reached until the SED agrees to the acid test of free elections.

If Herr Krenz is to avert the bank-

More German coverage on pages 2, 3 & 4.

ruptcy of his party he must at least apply for composition proceedings. Young people are still leaving the GDR in droves.

About 15,000 people made use of the demonstration weekend to head west via Czechoslovakia, to which they are now allowed to travel with no other travel document than their identity cards.

Special trains and buses were laid on. Thousands came straight by car, others via Bonn's embassy in Prague, to the Federal Republic. The exodus may attain even more dramatic proportions if full freedom of travel is permitted.

Which government, which system, which party can survive when not old-age pensioners but the young, the standard-bearers of the future, vote with their feet?

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 November 1989)

IN THIS ISSUE



Franz Schoser (left) receives the Adenauer-de Gaulle Prize from President Mitterrand (right) in Bonn. Centre is Chancellor Kohl. Herr Schoser heads the society for international cooperation. (Photo: dpa)

Mitterrand says reunification is for Germans to decide

President Mitterrand dealt with German reunification at the end of the 54th round of Franco-German consultations in Bonn. Developments in Eastern Europe and the GDR concerned everyone, he said. Considerations in respect of the possibility of German reunification were most important. They must not be based on preconceived fears or, for that matter, approval. "What matters most," the French leader said, as Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl looked on, "is the determination and the will of the German people."

President Mitterrand may have said he is not afraid of German reunification, but that doesn't mean he feels it to be desirable. It would be truer to say that he was appealing against the fears felt by Germany's neighbours at the very idea of any such possibility.

Saying you aren't afraid is like whistling in the dark. It is a morale-booster. When M. Mitterrand says it is up to the Germans themselves to decide whether they want reunification or would prefer to continue living separately but alongside each other, he is basically just referring to the right of self-determination on which all else depends.

He is not advocating reunification, merely counselling a calm approach. People in the GDR are still a long way away from stripping the ruling SED of its monopoly of power.

Even if reforms one day gave people a say, there is no guarantee that they would opt for reunification.They might go for others forms of coexistence.

Those who are still leaving in their thousands, have found their right of self-determination in the Federal Republic. Those

French look for a Deutschlandpolitik, page 4.

who stay seem intent on renewing the state, not on abolishing it.

The reform movement has not nailed reunification to its mast; its aims are democracy, freedom of opinion, freedom of travel, economic renewal and better living conditions. The exodus continues because SED leader Egon Krenz is unable to offer any such perspective.

The SED and its supporters are also staying put. They have not been stripped of power by the exodus but are regrouping under the slogan of dialogue.

The refugees leave gaps behind, not just in the economy and in essential services but in the reform movement. It is weakened by every single person who leaves.

Achim Melchers
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 4 November 1989)



The people protest against the people's government. Alexanderplatz, East Berlin. (Photo: AP)

GERMANY

A case of doing too little, too late

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Rome wasn't built in a day, and the GDR can't be rebuilt overnight, as Egon Krenz, the new East German leader, will learn only too soon.

He might like to usher in change in the GDR and regain the offensive for his ruling Communist Party, the SED, but it is too late now to make good the SED's historic delay.

He will have hoped in vain to size up the shape of things to come in Moscow.

Gone are the days when newly-appointed Communist Party leaders paid the Kremlin, the erstwhile centre of international communism, an inaugural visit for purposes of, let us say, investiture.

Poland's non-Communist Premier, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, promptly drew his conclusions from the change in situation and paid Rome his first visit as head of government.

Herr Krenz chose to abide by the old ritual, but taking over lock, stock and barrel what Moscow does is no guarantee of success.

The Soviet Union, itself in the throes of a process of transformation, is in no position to supply sure-cure solutions to the East Bloc's ills.

The SED leader may hope to gain a *breathing-space by a modicum of perestroika* and glasnost, by heralding limited freedom of travel and by launching an SED-controlled dialogue.

He may, at the forthcoming plenary session of the SED central committee, bring about the retirement or resignation of the remainder of the old guard, ditching them like he has ditched trade union confederation general secretary Harry Tisch and TV commentator Karl Eduard von Schnitzler.

But it is too little too late. Demonstrators by their hundreds of thousands in the streets of Leipzig and Dresden, Schwerin and Halle make it clear that the SED's monopoly of power must be drawing to a close after a 40-year innings.

Is the SED still capable of shouldering responsibility in all sectors, as Herr Krenz demanded immediately before flying to Moscow?

Can it still form the "spearhead of socialist pluralism"? Who in the GDR, other than Herr Krenz, still believes in this variety of socialism?

Moscow has no desire to be the model East Berlin must emulate, and not just because the CPSU's monopoly is already called into question by a radical group of Opposition reformers in the Supreme Soviet. It is not just that Mr Gorbachov *himself* has found himself in the minority when votes were cast; the custodians of socialist purity have simply grown tired. There are growing signs of a Soviet rethink on how to divest Moscow of its commitments towards its satellites, with increasingly frequent pointers to the possibility, and maybe even desirability, of member-states pulling out of the Warsaw Pact.



Checking out. East Germans wait in a four-kilometre long queue of cars to cross from Czechoslovakia into Bavaria, in the West. (Photo: dpa)

The latest leading Soviet official to suggest this possibility is the chairman of the second chamber of the Supreme Soviet, Yevgenii Primakov.

Increasingly emphatic statements are being made to the effect that it is up to the Germans themselves to decide their future.

A recent statement along these lines was made by the spokesman for the CPSU central committee, Alexander *Shishlin.*

These pointers may not come from the inner sanctum of the Kremlin, but they are indicative of an outlook that is steadily gaining ground.

No wonder the Americans are sitting up and taking notice. They are keen to know, need to know Moscow's views on central Europe.

They are a topic that is sure to be of major importance at next month's US-Soviet summit.

The basic issue is how the Soviet Union can divest itself of its hegemony over Eastern Europe without jeopardising its power status in European and world affairs.

What Moscow needs is a new definition of its security interests, and the Soviet Union would by no means object to being aided and abetted by the United States and Western Europe.

This support might, for instance, take the shape of a Helsinki 2, a rerun of the 1975 Final Act without the ideological component, the guarantee, as part of the Helsinki accords, of the striving for freedom.

The West will be unable, given its view of its own role, to commit itself to any such form of stability. The entire debate on stability and instability is a contradiction in terms.

Stability is not guaranteed by setting up a Metternich-style Holy Alliance; it is established by reconciling conflicting interests and seeking to remedy social ills and cure ailing societies.

In this historical perspective Egon Krenz and the SED such as it remains under his leadership are heading in the wrong direction.

The longer he continues to claim the *sole right to lay down the direction in* which the ship of state is to travel, the sooner and more surely he will come to grief.

What arrogance and effrontery are demonstrated by reference to a dialogue in which other parties to the debate are not given the trust and confidence talks between equals presuppose!

"What we need is dialogue, not shouting and unrest," writes *Neues Deutschland*, the incorrigible SED daily newspaper.

Officialdom so hard of hearing, so slow to sense the lie of the land, can hardly fail to force the general public to abandon any idea of reform by debate, as envisaged by the SED, and take to the streets instead.

The history of Eastern European "people's democracies" is one long tale of too little too late, as evidenced by events in Poland, Hungary and, now, the GDR.

No matter what the SED's clockfaces may show, time marches on.

Gerhard von Glinski

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 3 November 1989)

A feeling that it won't last

Many changes in the GDR are going ahead at a breathtaking pace. Mistakes are admitted, the Party is accused of having been to blame for them, the general secretary of the trades union confederation resigns almost overnight.

The general effect is one of liberation after decades of pressure. But confidence in a better future still seems to be in short supply in the GDR.

The surest sign of scepticism was the Bonn's embassy in Prague was filled with would-be East German refugees the moment they were allowed to cross the border to Czechoslovakia again.

Yet the new GDR leader, Herr Krenz, has promised freedom of travel, so those who want to leave might arguably wait until he acts on this promise.

But many clearly don't trust the peace the regime seems to want to make with the people. Grounds for mistrust are readily stated. One is the irrational but widespread feeling that it is all *happening* too fast and is too good to *be true or*, at any rate, to last.

Once domestic pressure does not weigh so heavily on the GDR leaders, people feel, there could only too easily be a reversion to the external pressure of old.

Another factor is the uncertain character of Opposition groups in the GDR, especially now turncoat hard-liner Egon Krenz has announced that there is to be no change in socialism and the pre-eminence of the ruling Communist Party.

In other words, the Party could go back on what it has now promised once it has regained the upper hand. October *1989* would then be but a sad *memory for those* who had opted to stay in the GDR.

The sudden disappearance of Herr Krenz's predecessor, Erich Honecker, without so much as a paternal parting word, is another sure sign that little or nothing *has changed, at the top*, in the way the GDR is run.

This lack of confidence in the new GDR leaders (or those who have so far emerged) has a Deutschlandpolitik aspect.

As long as the SED's power monopoly is guarded as the holy of holies, democratic expression of political intent will remain a remote prospect in the GDR.

There have been initial *signs of monopoly* restrictions being *eased. Freedom to* voice criticism is *self-evident*. But self-determination is another matter.

In a transitional period the East German regime is clearly *following an unmistakable* line, be it to consolidate its own power, to pave the way for others or for want of a viable alternative.

The line is to let everyone go who doesn't want to stay and so to ease the pressure and maybe *gain* an opportunity of stabilising conditions.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 3 November 1989)

The German Tribune

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH; 3-4 Hartwicusstrasse, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1, Telex: 02-14733.

Editor-in-chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. — Distribution manager: Georgine Picone.

Published weekly with the exception of the second week in January, the second week in April, the third week in September and the third week in November.

Advertising rates list No. 16
Annual subscription DM 45

Printed by CW Niemeyer-Druck, Hameln

Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc., 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.
Postmaster: send change of address to The German Tribune % MASS MAILINGS.

Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by agreement with leading newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.

Bonn parties caught in a dilemma

Goodwill soon palls when money is involved. Does the all-party approach toward changes in the GDR end at the cash desk too?

The political parties in Bonn have so far largely agreed that the Federal Republic must be prepared to shoulder heavier financial burdens in support of developments in the GDR.

Views now differ on whether Bonn must be prepared to bankroll freedom of travel for GDR citizens as heralded by the East German leaders.

The choice is clear. Bonn must either lend a helping hand with hard cash or tell the GDR it must meet the cost of travel by its citizens from its own foreign exchange reserves.

That doesn't yet trigger the fundamental problem of the extent to and the conditions in which Bonn may and ought to help East Berlin to get out of the economic mess in which socialism has landed it. But it brings us close to the problem, especially as more is involved than fine words. Freedom of travel involves hard cash.

Besides, would Bonn, by sharing the cost of travel to the West by GDR citizens, not shore up the very system that needs reforming?

Yet would reluctance on Bonn's part not provide East Berlin with a welcome pretext for imposing a practical stranglehold on travel it must now, in theory, endorse?

Weighing up the pros and cons is far

Continued on page 3

GERMANY

Changes in the East throw the spotlight on to a ministry

The Ministry of Intra-German Relations in Bonn remains an unknown force in the public eye. Changes in East Germany have now given it a higher profile. In this article, Ekkehard Kohrs looks at the people in the ministry and at its activities in various fields. The story appeared in the Bonn daily, *General-Anzeiger*.

The Bonn Ministry for Intra-German Relations, headed by Dorothee Wilms and already regarded by some as a superfluous institution, has again become the focus of public discussion.

It is bad enough for a politician to have to carry out part of her job in virtual obscurity. Buying the freedom of prisoners, for example, is something which does not respond too well to excessive publicity.

The fact that very little is known about the rest of Frau Wilms' portfolio must be all the more annoying.

The contours of Bonn's Deutschlandpolitik are laid down in the Chancellor's Office. In East Berlin, where the Federal Republic of Germany ranks as a foreign country, the corresponding policy is elaborated in the GDR Foreign Office.

A few days before Erich Honecker visited Bonn last year GDR Foreign Minister, Oskar Fischer, told me that he would only be meeting the Minister for Intra-German Relations during the visit for reasons of "decorum": "I do not really have anything to discuss with Frau Wilms." Nevertheless, the discussion lasted two hours.

It was Minister of State at the Chancellor's Office in Bonn, Rudolf Seiters, who travelled to East Berlin. And it was Bonn Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who negotiated exit arrangements for East German refugees at Bonn's embassies in Prague and Warsaw during talks with Oskar Fischer on the perimeter of the UN General Assembly in New York.

Seiters announced the decision to let the refugees travel west via Dresden in Bonn. Genscher broke the news on the embassy balcony in Prague.

As all this was happening Dorothee Wilms stood in the shadows. "When the fate of human beings is involved I have no objection to staying in the background," she said.

Nonetheless, the events of the past weeks have enhanced the status of her portfolio. It was her nimble-minded state secretary, Walter Priesnitz, born in the Upper Silesian town of Hindenburg, who maintained contact with the East Berlin lawyer, Wolfgang Vogel.

Early this year Priesnitz dropped the practice of buying the freedom of prisoners in the GDR because a growing number of people were being prosecuted for simply applying for an exit permit. This is no longer the case.

At the time Vogel told Priesnitz: "Number one reacts allergically at the very mention of your name." Priesnitz replied: "Tell him that's hardly surprising. After all, I learnt how to negotiate in one of his savings banks."

This was after he took his school-leaving exam in Zwickau in 1950 and became an apprentice bank clerk. The number one was Honecker.

If Vogel packs his bags does this means that Frau Wilms will lose her main contact man in the field of humanitarian relations in the East? State secretary Priesnitz has already arranged new meetings with Vogel and refers to a "transitional phase."

Vogel has yet to talk to the new East German leader Egon Krenz. Bonn hopes that Vogel will stay and that his brief will be renewed.

Today, the Ministry for Intra-German Relations in Bonn, which has had this name since 1969, has about 320 members of staff.

Before 1969 it was called the Federal Ministry for All-German Affairs. The first Minister was Jacob Kaiser, followed by Ernst Lemmer, Rainer Barzel, Erich Mende, Johann Baptist Gradl and Herbert Wehner.

Egon Franke headed the first Ministry for Intra-German Relations, followed by (once again) Rainer Barzel, Heinrich Windelen and, since 12 March, 1987, Dorothee Wilms.

Frau Wilms, born in Grevenbroich in 1929, is Catholic, single and has a doctorate in economics. Before she took on the portfolio for intra-German relations she was Education Minister in Bonn.

Why isn't the Ministry for Intra-German Relations given a name which is more palatable to politicians in East Berlin?

Dorothee Wilms also feels that the Ministry's name is "not helpful." She is not only concerned about East German sensitivities, but also about the European process in which intra-German relations are embedded.

If Helmut Kohl again becomes Chancellor after next year's general election — something Kohl's fellow party colleague Frau Wilms assumes — she intends recommending a different name, for example, the "Ministry for German Questions."

Of course, it was precisely *the* German Question which moved this Ministry back into the limelight.

The number of groups visiting the Ministry and the number of inquiries and requests for information material from abroad have increased substantially. It is virtually impossible to handle all the interview requests.

The Ministry also operates in fields of which very few people are aware. Apart from dealing with problems connected with reuniting families, human rights and relief measures for GDR visitors to the Federal Republic of Germany in, for example, cases of illness, the Ministry for Intra-German Relations is also actively involved in environmental protection activities and intra-German cultural exchanges.

Out of the shadows. Minister Wilms (left) and state secretary Priesnitz. (Photo: Heinz Engels)

It provides DM17m for the German minority in Denmark and is currently supporting the construction of a library in Flensburg.

In cooperation with church organisations it finances equipment and furnishings for charitable hospitals in East Bloc countries. The Ministry in the Godesberger Allee also sends parcels and medical supplies.

Furthermore, it has become a kind of unofficial Ministry of Cultural Affairs at a federal level. The GDR prefers to negotiate with one institution in this field rather than with the eleven individual Länder.

These negotiations have already led to a comprehensive cultural agreement. The next programme follows in December.

A Ministry department is looking into questions such as pension and civil laws and town-twinning. The information is passed on to the Chancellor's Office.

Dorothee Wilms often travelled to the GDR in her official car on unofficial visits for talks, for example, with church representatives.

She has shown a particular interest in intra-German research. In more concrete terms: what do the education policies, the grant systems and the economic systems in the two countries have in common? It is hoped that a comparative analysis will reveal whether we are at all ready for reunification.

Frau Wilms, however, does not feel that reunification is on the agenda.

She talks of an historical process. Only a few years ago no-one would have believed that what is happening in the GDR today is at all possible.

She views instructional work at home and abroad, especially in view of the revived discussion on the unity of the German nation, as one of her paramount tasks.

How does Frau Wilms feel about the new GDR travel laws? The GDR is at long last meeting its CSCE commitments. Foreign exchange? Frau Wilms points towards the large amounts which Bonn has paid into the GDR's national coffers, adding that the GDR could provide some of this money for GDR citizens travelling to the West.

And why is there so little foreign exchange in the GDR? The washed-out economic system there must be changed. Everything depends on the envisaged restructuring of East German society.

Frau Wilms approves of greater freedom to travel, but not at the expense of democratisation. She agrees with her state secretary that the factor of time now plays a decisive role in the GDR.

Did she expect Egon Krenz to succeed Erich Honecker? Yes and no. Walter Priesnitz admits that Günter Mittag was also one of the Ministry's favourites. There was a power struggle between Mittag and Krenz during Honecker's illness.

Apparently, only the Federal Intelligence Service in Bonn knew nothing at all.

Are the GDR refugees in the West being pampered? This question really annoys Frau Wilms: "An embarrassing and dreadful remark."

She criticises the fact that remarks like this are made by people sitting on a high horse. She also adopts a completely different stance to that taken by the SPD with respect to the need for the Central Registration Office in Salzgitter, which Frau Wilms feels is absolutely essential.

There have been cases of torture in the GDR. The office in Salzgitter will be necessary as long as human rights are not respected.

The SPD Länder no longer finances the office. Now the money comes from the budget of the Ministry for Intra-German Relations.

The Ministry is currently being inundated with letters. Thank-you letters and many requests for information. Press spokeswoman Susan Knoll shows us the stacks of information material.

Are there also letters from persons who have returned to the GDR after fleeing to the West? Walter Priesnitz claims that these letters used to account for roughly eight per cent of all letters sent, but that there are probably not quite as many now.

Frau Wilms advises the GDR to welcome returning refugees "with open arms." The Bonn government has no interest in a depopulation of the GDR.

She stresses that what counts most is the ability to "live a humane life" in the GDR.

Ekkehard Kohrs

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 28 October 1989)

Continued from page 2

from easy. CDU general secretary Volker Rühe has rightly noted that the GDR is already paid a handsome amount in hard cash by the Federal Republic. In 1987 the GDR's official deutschemark revenue was estimated at between DM2bn and DM2.5bn, plus a further DM2bn spent by West German visitors to the GDR.

It would be only fair for East Berlin to use part of these hard currency earnings as a foreign exchange allowance for travel to the West by GDR citizens.

Above all, it would be no more than just for the GDR leaders to foot their own bill for a move they hope will ease domestic pressure. But that is only one side of the issue. The other is the clash of interests between the GDR's leaders and ordinary East Germans. It goes without saying that the GDR's leaders are less interested, to put it *mildly*, in foreign travel than their citizens.

So they will be only too happy to say they simply can't afford it, which is true enough. Sharing travel costs is little short of an acid test of an all-party Deutschlandpolitik postulate of old: that cash payments to the GDR must benefit the people, not just the authorities.

For this reason alone, if for no other, Bonn cannot now afford to be tight-fisted. It would otherwise run a serious risk of losing face. But two guarantees would need to be given. First, the GDR must foot part of its citizens' foreign travel bill. Second, any money the Federal Republic spends must be paid directly to GDR travellers, and not via GDR government agencies.

Hermann Rudolph

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 31 October 1989)

GERMANY

Unity, freedom, Washington, Moscow: ideas in flux as time rolls on



For 40 years the German Question was said to be unsolved. It wasn't really; CDU Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and SPD Opposition leader Kurt Schumacher both gave freedom absolute priority over unity.

One reason why they did so was that they felt there was a strong likelihood that if they were to opt for unity they would jeopardise freedom without necessarily restoring German unity.

The German Question didn't arise as long as Europe was well and truly divided, barred and shuttered by the two blocs that faced each other in Germany.

The two German states, linchpins and bulwarks of their respective pacts; were too important strategically to be left to their own devices, let alone to the tender mercies of the other superpower.

Reunification could only mean one of two things: Germany as a whole joining one or other of the blocs or neutralisation and demilitarisation.

Neither option was genuinely available. Neither Washington nor Moscow could countenance the other uniting all Germans under its standard.

As for neutralisation, Adenauer rightly regarded it as what, for Bismarck, had been the *cauchemar des coalitions* — a nightmare, the perpetuation of Potsdam, "understanding (between the Allies) on our backs" and "at Germany's expense."

In a nutshell: "Germany must not be allowed to drift between the millstones or else it will be a cause lost forever."

Now, 40 years later, the German Question is back on the agenda without anyone having planned or predicted its reappearance.

The agenda has been written by the people, not by professional politicians, by people in the GDR, in Poland and in Hungary.

The people were assigned only a minor role in the scenario of classical German Ostpolitik, from Willy Brandt to Helmut Kohl.

Understanding was to be sought with the regimes, with Honecker, Gomulka, Kadar & Co., to enable them to cautiously slacken the reins by which their subjects were kept in check, bearing in mind that they could feel safely assured of Western approval.

Now, however, the subjects are voting with their feet and waving goodbuye to the powers that be in East Berlin, while those who choose to stay are staunchly demanding "democracy now."

What is more, this state of affairs doesn't seem to upset the final authority, the Kremlin, which appears to be unperturbed by the revolutionary changes that are taking place in its empire.

The Brezhnev Doctrine by which sovereignty was subordinated to "socialist unity" was totally abandoned by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze when he assured Eastern Europeans of "absolute freedom of decision."

On US television his Foreign Ministry spokesman, Gennadi Gerassimov, who is always good for a joke, suggested as an alternative the "Sinatra Doctrine."

This was an allusion to Sinatra's famous song "My Way." What that means, Mr Gerassimov said, is that every country must go its own way.

Caught between the de-imperialisation of Soviet foreign policy and the seemingly irrepressible spirit of rebellion of people in the GDR, Prussian socialism from the Elbe to the Oder is in no real position to defend itself.

Erich Honecker found this out the hard way; Egon Krenz is learning day by day. The front is straightened out, as the general staff of armies on the retreat tend to call it, and no end to the retreat is in sight.

Why, then, has the German Question recurred most forcibly where it was least expected, in the GDR, once the coldest theatre of the Cold War?

Because if the GDR were to forfeit socialism, what further justification would there be for a second German state? If the hammer and compasses were to disappear from the GDR's flag, only the black, red and gold would remain.

The Wall and barbed-wire border emplacements would go, and the Germans would be reunited as inevitably as water flows into a single river-bed.

But what do others have to say on the subject? The German Question has never been a matter for the Germans alone.

Post-war policy may have been aimed at containing the Soviet Union; it was certainly also aimed at "embedding" the Germans.

What that means, defined less elegantly, is a balance of power in and around Germany aimed at giving the Germans neither a reason nor an opportunity to expand as forcefully as they did in two world wars.

Reunification? Moscow's silence speaks volumes, and Paris and Washington can be sure to take good care not to veto the idea.

President Bush has even given it his carefully considered approval, saying he doesn't share other countries' worries about a reunited Germany.

But, he added, there must be no pushing and jostling. "We need time (and) wisdom," he said, and the Germans must first come to terms with the British and the French.

Wisdom and understanding are not a bad idea in turbulent and unpredictable times.

It isn't a matter of a united Germany being the greatest economic and military power in Europe; the Federal Republic is that already, nuclear weapons apart.

The problem lies elsewhere. It is that the essential features of the German Question have barely changed since 1949 despite the breathtaking pace of change in other sectors.

Even the most enlightened Kremlin ruler cannot possibly accept the reunification of Germany as part of the West. Yet any other solution would inevitably jeopardise Germany's ties with the West: from the European Community to Nato.

The clash of values of old, between unity and freedom, has by no means vanished. The only difference is that today the freedom of the East Germans is at issue.

The overriding objective of classical Deutschlandpolitik is by setting aside external self-determination for Germany as a whole to gain greater internal freedom for the GDR.

Austria has its freedom *and* a trouble-free border with neighbouring Germany by virtue of having agreed to exercise self-restraint where its self-determination was concerned.

Or has the post-war order been so undermined that no-one is in any position to resist pressure exerted by the 77 million Germans any longer?

It would be unwise to bank on that being the case, especially as the sudden linkage of unity and freedom might stymie the very processes of easement that are relaxing the tension which has held Germany in its ice-cold grip since 1949.

Can anyone imagine Mr Gorbachov or his successor looking on calmly and idly as the GDR, the strategic linchpin of the Soviet glacis, pulls out of the Warsaw Pact?

How right Bonn Foreign Minister Genscher is in saying that rapprochement in Europe "also means rapprochement between the Germans, a development that must be embedded in European developments."

This guiding principle is nothing new; it is the basis of any sensible Deutschlandpolitik. Not until Europe as a whole has coalesced, relegating military stability and the balance of power to minor roles, can the national question be seen in a new light in the heart of Europe.

The road to European integration is nowhere near stable enough to carry the full weight of a united Germany. Not yet, at least.

Josef Joffe

(*Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 28 October 1989*)

France finds itself casting round for a new policy

Le Monde was most disappointed by President Mitterrand's speech to the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

"What," the highly regarded Paris daily asked, "did he have to say about what is going on in the East? Does he agree with the view that the balance of power in Europe is being upset?

"And as for the GDR, does what is going on there have some different significance? What is France's Ostpolitik now?"

Addressing the 518 MEPs in Strasbourg, the French head of state did not see fit to mention German reunification even once, it was noted in Paris.

French commentators assumed that this had been agreed the day before at a brief meeting between President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl.

Even so, French political circles have now begun to reconsider their views on Germany.

After an initial phase of surprise at the protest movement in the GDR, individual politicians of the most varied persuasions have now come forward with viewpoints and proposals.

Three tendencies have emerged, the first being the European viewpoint, as voiced by European Commission president Jacques Delors:

"Those who feel we can afford to mark time on European integration because Ostpolitik and Deutschlandpolitik must be given priority are in reality doing our Ostpolitik and Deutschlandpolitik targets a disservice."

M. Delors was ably seconded by French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, who is on record as saying: "The more firmly the Federal Republic is embedded in the European Community, the closer one comes to a solution that runs no risk of German domination in Europe."

That brings us to the second category of French public figures who frankly own up to their fears of a united Germany.

They cite two reasons why François Mauriac's old adage about being so fond of Germany that the more German states there were the better he liked it being as valid as ever.

What, they ask, is to become of French security if the Federal Republic is no longer available as a strategic glacis once Bonn has, say, pulled out of Nato or is drifting toward neutrality?

What, for that matter, if the Federal Republic were to be enlarged by a merger with the GDR, the tenth-largest industrial state in the world?

This latter question is asked by the French political weekly *Le Point*. It is based on a malaise deriving from the following assessment of the situation.

The reunification issue seems at present to have clouded many French observers' vision of what is really going on in the GDR.

"In a first step," as a former French ambassador in Bonn, M. Froment Meurice puts it, "it is a matter of gaining freedom for the 16 million Germans in the GDR."

This clear distinction is the third French viewpoint, a viewpoint guided by the level-headed surmise that German reunification is inevitable, tomorrow if not today.

It is thus preferable to champion the cause so that it comes about with France and not without it, as it were.

This view was echoed by another French expert on Germany and German affairs, former Foreign Minister Jean François-Poncet:

"France must now solemnly assure the German people that it understands, approves and would, if the need arose, support its demand for unification."

At the same time, however, the pace of European integration must be stepped up.

The assumption here is that trends in Eastern Europe will develop such a momentum of their own that the West will have no choice but to discuss a change in the status quo, including the German Question.

M. Froment Meurice has even suggested that President Mitterrand and Chancellor Kohl must call on Mr Gorbachov and jointly bring about a turning-point in European affairs.

Given the hesitant progress toward a new French Deutschlandpolitik, the French political scientist Alfred Grosser says:

"I find it hard very hard to understand the French attitude, which consists of saying the whole world must practise self-determination — everyone, that is, but the East Germans.

"Why? Because we are afraid there would then be too many of them? That is not a sensible attitude."

Peter Ruge

(Die Welt, Bonn, 30 October 1989)

PERSPECTIVE

Looking at security policy in an era of rapid change

Even at a time of rapid change in Europe, Nato remains indispensible. There was broad consensus on this within the German-American discussion circle the Konrad Adenauer foundation invited to the Königshof hotel in Bonn.

But it was also generally agreed that the character and the tasks of the alliance would change — although she sheer pace of change made it difficult for speakers to predict confidently what might happen in the next 10 years.

On arms control policy, for example, the number of new questions exceeds by far the number of conclusive answers experts can give.

The head of the US delegation at the Start negotiations on strategic nuclear disarmament in Geneva and former US ambassador in Bonn, Richard Burt, claimed that arms control, up to now a pivotal point of West-East policies, had become a variable in the overall political development.

This is a good thing too, said Burt, since disarmament policy could now serve as a kind of safety net to safeguard stability during an increasingly crisis-ridden political phase.

Burt also tried to convey orientations. He maintained that arms control must do more than just scale down arsenals to reduce the risk of conflict. If the aim is greater stability following greater disarmament arms control cannot be a substitute for necessary defence improvements.

The early warning and information instruments of the alliance should also be improved.

Finally, Burt insisted that arms control must now start showing a greater interest in the North-South direction in view of the favourable prospects for West-East relations.

There were no objections to Burt's remarks. Not even to his claim that Nato must continue to have an appropriate combination of conventional and nuclear arms at its disposal for defence purposes.

This, however, triggered a number of questions. What does minimum nuclear deterrence mean? To what extent does it depend on the outcome of the Vienna talks on conventional arms reduction? Are modernised short-range land-based missiles, a major bone of contention within Nato last spring, at all necessary or would sea-launched and airborne systems suffice?

Bonn's disarmament negotiator, Josef Holik, said that the outcome of the Vienna talks would definitely improve the conventional arms balance and thus strengthen the defence ability of the alliance. This would lead to a raising of the nuclear threshold. He also said the alliance must resolve the urgent task of harmonising arms control and defence policy and change defence structures to guarantee security at a lower level.

Military officials shared his opinion that residual force levels must be able to meet the requirements of forward defence and that an appropriate US presence still remains an absolute must.

However, should new negotations on drastic and balanced reductions follow immediately once parity has been achieved by the conclusion of the first conventional arms agreement?

This is a moot point. Some feel that the realisation of the first agreement will take years because of the time-consuming procedure of scrapping weapons. Only then can its effects be properly assessed.

Others say that it is precisely this which allows follow-on negotiations to begin at any early stage.

Holik recommended negotiating the creation of defensive armed forces structures first before considering more far-reaching reductions.

Early reflection is needed to be ready for new developments. This approach was backed by a number of US members of the discussion circle, whereas others advised a wait-and-see stance because of the unpredictability of events in the East.

As with respect to the reduction of export controls on new technologies, which the Europeans strongly favour, there are also signs of emerging West-West problems in the military field. These could be aggravated by the crumbling of structures in the East.

The Germans agreed that Nato must also respond politically and in accordance with a common concept. In the words of CDU business manager, Volker Rühe: "The stabilisation of Eastern Europe is also security policy."

Rühe's slogan, *Wandel ohne Angst* (change without fear), went down well.

Former Democratic US vice-president Mondale added that burden sharing must now be replaced by a sharing of responsibility.

Rühe, Bonn Defence Minister, Gerhard Stoltenberg, and the SPD's disarmament expert, Karsten Voigt, all agreed that freedom and democracy in the GDR take priority over unity.

They stressed that unity would result anyway at the end of the European development. It will then be up to the Germans themselves to shape its content in their respective states.

Wolf J. Bell

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 27 October 1989)

Why armed forces face reductions

A planned cut in the armed forces from 456,000 to 420,000 is not a reaction to the changes in the overall military policy situation. It is more the result of a realistic assessment of future manpower, material and financial resources.

Progress in East-West relations has helped, of course: extension of compulsory military service from 15 to 18 months planned for 1992, to take one example, now seems improbable. This extension was intended to offset the effects of the low-birth rate years.

The development and procurement of new military systems have come up against financial limits. The costs for longer-serving soldiers with their higher level of qualification and specialisation would increase.

All parties now talk of a step in the right direction, although all have different motives. It isn't clear if they all have considered all the constraints.

The consequences for the combat strength are a lot clearer. The planned reduction of 25,000 would cut into the size of the 12 divisions and a reduction in the number of brigades.

The air force would have to accept the fact that, if it is constructed at all, the European Fighter Aircraft would only be available in smaller numbers.

The navy would be hard hit because the number of fast patrol boats would be reduced from 40 to 20 and the submarine fleet from 24 to 20. The controversial Nato frigate 90 would be dropped altogether.

There is a noticeable feeling of uneasiness in the Bundestag due to the fact that resolutions with such major significance for the future were drawn up almost without parliamentary consultation. There is growing pressure for a defence structure commission able to pass on the initiative to the MPs.

The Bundestag, however, can fairly be accused of lacking any such initiative up to now despite the fact that it was aware of the problems facing the Bundeswehr.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 1 November 1989)

Controversy in case of doctor who taunted the soldier

A doctor who, in a heated discussion five years ago, told a Bundeswehr officer: "All soldiers are potential murderers — and that includes you," has been acquitted on slander charges.

The judgment was not "disgraceful." Neither was it a perversion of justice. The judges had a task to resolve which is more for the political arena than a court of law.

Following the strong criticism of the court's ruling its president emphasised that the necessary political discussion should be marked by moderation, objectivity and tolerance.

These are key concepts in any forum of political dialogue. If they had existed in the discussion on rearmament the accused doctor would never have made his insulting remarks about soldiers.

The peacekeeping function of the Bundeswehr cannot be denied, which is why the court described the claim that every soldier is a potential murderer as an insult of the Bundeswehr.

The court, however, did not feel that this was a punishable offence, since the defendant was making use of guaranted rights such as the freedom of speech and his concern for peace.

It can be disputed, of course, whether reference to higher legally protected rights and motives should exempt insulting the honour of an individual or a group from punishment.

The judges themselves are not too happy about the decision and stress that it cannot serve as a precedent for any insults of soldiers in future.

Their dilemma is that the criteria valid for political argument are not the same as those which apply to the private sphere.

Courts cannot settle political disputes; the latter, therefore, should not be conducted in such a way as to necessitate court judgements. Changing the laws will not help.

Furthermore, if the judges had found the doctor guilty of the charges brought against him they would have also provoked a public discussion — with the roles merely reversed.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 28 October 1989)

EUROPE 1992

The social dimension causes a furrowing of brows

There are widespread worries about what will happen to employees after the single European market comes into force after 1992. Bonn Labour Minister Norbert Blüm has issued a nine-point catalogue as a possible basis for a "social charter" for all 12 countries, an idea firmly rejected by British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher. Blüm's proposals cover items such as length of holidays, youth employment regulations, job security for pregnant women, the employment of handicapped people, pay on holidays and during illness and other items. This article was written by Erich Hauser and appeared in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*.

As the 12 member states of the European Community vigorously press ahead towards the single European market without frontiers, the 325 million people who live in the Community are worried.

In 1985 Jacques Delors, president of the EC Commission produced his plans for an integrated Europe and it was hoped that there would be a new enthusiasm for integration. But that has not emerged.

Many are sceptical about the abolition of frontier controls. Many workers fear that increased EC-wide competition will eventually be a burden that will fall on them.

There are doubts as to whether the millions of Europeans really want frontier controls to be abolished. The Belgians, Dutch and Luxemburgers have successfully had no controls at their frontiers for private travellers for 10 years.

The prerequisite for this, however, was joint administration of visa and residential permit controls for non-EC citizens and close police cooperation.

In anticipation of the single European market in 1993 Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President Francois Mitterrand of France want to link their two countries to the Benelux model with the Schengen Agreement, signed in June 1985 in which France and Germany agreed to scrap frontier controls between their countries and the Benelux by 1990.

But the authorities in Paris and the *Bundeskriminalamt*, (the federal CID), the Bonn Interior Ministry and the interior ministries of the *Länder* always find too much to quibble about.

Many people in Germany fear that with the opening up of frontiers there will be an increase in drug trafficking and other crime.

The finance ministers in Paris and Bonn are concerned about their revenues if cheap cigarettes and alcohol from the tax haven Luxembourg can only be intercepted by spot checks behind frontiers.

Nevertheless it now seems as if the barriers between the five core states of the Community could disappear at the latest by 1991 if agreement could be reached on a not quite perfect solution.

German officials are disturbed that in Belgium there is no data protection legislation and that firearms can be purchased without a gun licence, although the ministries in The Hague and Luxembourg are not deterred by the pragmatic operation of the Benelux example.

Then the Germans complain of the lax attitude towards the drug problem in the Netherlands which, however, has not raised any serious problems in Belgium or Luxembourg during all the years of open frontiers.

France gives prime importance to its "national sovereignty", particularly against "hot pursuit" by police of the four other countries hunting for criminals on French territory.

In Belgium, on the other hand, memories of the war are too vivid to allow uniformed Germans to operate in their country.

Within the EC as a whole the preparations for the abolition of frontier controls are more difficult. The "island" states — Britain, Ireland and Greece — are not prepared to drop controls at their ports and airports.

Denmark would much prefer to maintain its "open frontiers" with its Scandinavian neighbours than abolish the barriers at Schleswig-Holstein. Spain wants to keep a close eye on the Pyrenées because of the Basque terrorists.

After the realisation of the Schengen Agreement the only question which remains is when Italy (with its frontier with France) will follow the other five.

It is not surprising then that citizens in the EC are not enraptured by the 1993 date. On the other hand it is surprising how the trades unions in the 12 states have concerned themselves over the past two years with a solution for workers' problems with increasing realism.

Thanks to German worker organisations, with large memberships and plenty of money, the European Trades Union Association and the spearheads of trades unions for various sectors have dealt with the new dangers inherent in the Single European Market White Paper of 1985, drawn up by Brussels.

The first exchange of blows took place in the Federal Republic. German employers have spoken about the "cost disadvantages" of the Federal Republic as a place for production in the past, and Franz Steinkühler, the head of the engineering union, IG Metall, and others, have emphasised the threat of "social dumping."

But now there is no more discussion of social dumping or the disadvantages of the Federal Republic as a location for production.

Much contributed to objectification. There was, for example, confirmation that the single European market would gradually reduce unemployment by the linking up of the economy.

German employers recognised that shifting companies to the southern countries of the EC was not always advantageous. Workers' productivity there was not so great, for instance. Then the trades unions there were "getting cheekier all the time," as a businessman complained.

The EC Commission, and particularly its head, Jacques Delors, have recognised that important parts of EC legislation as regards corporate law would be blocked in the European Parliament by the coalition of Socialists and Christian Democrats, so long as a "social dimension" to the Community was not developed at the same time.

The Bonn government contributed to this. Chancellor Helmut Kohl came out strongly for a "social charter" at the EC summit in Hanover in June 1988.

Labour Minister Norbert Blüm, working in close cooperation with West German trades unions, is exercising considerable influence on the Council of Ministers as regards the makeup of such a charter.

The charter may well be approved as a "solemn declaration" by 11 member states at the forthcoming EC summit in Strasbourg in December — without the agreement of Britain's Mrs Thatcher — but without being legally binding.

Minister Blüm and the other EC labour minister place great importance in the fact that the states who agree to the charter are at least morally obliged to enshrine in national legislation the need for "information, consultation and involvement of workers' representatives in important management decisions."

The German model of worker-management relations, for example, could become the accepted thing in other EC countries, even in Britain after a change of government.

With this charter the EC Commission will be able to submit a programme for minimal EC standards particularly as regards the right to collective wage agreements, the prohibition of employing children, minimum holiday entitlements, and regulations for part-time and time-limited work contracts.

A further important point is that in building contracts in the Federal Republic, for instance, Portuguese companies would have to pay their workers at German pay rates.

EC trades unions covering engineering, textiles, garments, leather, foodstuffs and chemicals are looking well ahead. They are striving for "European" workers' committees as the preliminary stages of multinational overall staff councils, with or without a basis in EC guidelines, as regards multinationals extending over frontiers.

Up to now French companies have shown themselves to be more open-minded than their German or Dutch counterparts, although in the Federal Republic and Holland experience in employer-employee relationships must have left a greater mark.

But many statements by representatives of German employers in advisory EC committees, such as on the economic affairs and social welfare committees, give the impression that German managers had nothing else more fervently in mind, as Margaret Thatcher, than to make the single European market a battlefield for the old-fashioned class war.

Franz Steinkühler and others are much credited by their EC colleagues for taking the view that many new jobs must be created first in the poorer peripheral states of the Community such as Portugal, Spain, Greece and Ireland, before wages and working hours agreements can be gradually adjusted to the levels in northern Europe through industrial action.

No one believes the trades unions or the European Parliament will be able to harmonise social benefits such as pensions and unemployment benefit.

Experts estimate that it will take between 20 and 30 years before the EC peripheral states will reach the living standards of their advanced partners to any extent. But the single European market could make this possible.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 30 October 1989)

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Tough round of wage talks looming on the horizon

Next year's wage talks round threatens to be one of the toughest in the Federal Republic of Germany's history.

The overture struck up at the Berlin conference of IG Metall, the 2.5-million-member engineering workers' union, sounded a shrill, loud note.

So, for that matter, did the response from the employers' camp.

Industrial action costing billions of marks in lost man-hours and output is the very last thing our flourishing economy needs.

Yet minefields are being laid and enlarged. The two sides are hurtling toward a head-on collision and, worse still, others are jumping on to the bandwagon.

Package of demands to cause a whistle

ÖTV, the public service and transport workers' union, is one of them, having decided to stake wage claims of its own alongside IG Metall.

In the very week the engineering workers met, ÖTV's central wages commission presented a package of demands to raise a whistle or two.

Was it coincidence? Not it. What ÖTV wants is higher general bonuses to which future percentage wage increases are to apply.

It has also demanded better terms for shift work, night shifts and work at inconvenient times.

Public service employers say the package would amount to a nine-per-cent wage rise. It is sheer cynicism on ÖTV's part not to talk in terms of a "second helping." Next year's wage rise in the public sector is part of an agreement negotiated a couple of years ago. A 1.7-per-cent wage increase is to be accompanied, from next April, by a further reduction in the working week to 38.5 hours.

The 38.5-hour working week has been agreed between public service unions and employers until the end of next year but one.

The existing package was agreed after industrial action that cost society a small fortune. The latest catalogue of demands makes nonsense of it even though it may not formally breach it.

What point is there in signing a wage agreement if demands are to be made during the period to which it applies that go far beyond the terms agreed?

ÖTV plans to serve notice at the end of November in respect of general bonus agreements that apply to 2.2 million people employed in the public service.

What that means, in all probability, is that talks with the employers will begin in the New Year, at the same time as IG Metall starts talking with engineering employers.

As for coincidence, that happens to be when IG Medien, the new printing, paper and media workers' union, plans to join forces with IG Metall and ÖTV, the two largest industrial unions.

Printing employers have made it clear that they feel they have reached the end of their tether where shorter working hours are concerned. So a clash with the militant IG Medien is a foregone conclusion.

IG Medien's union branches in radio and TV stations can be sure to show their solidarity with the printworkers.

So the trade union machinery will be working flat out next year. More is at stake than percentages or working hours. The social standing of the trade unions is at stake.

Some call it modernisation, others a fight for survival. Either or both will make 1990 a potentially dangerous year when the annual round of wage talks is due.

Demands have long ceased to be of value on their own account. Only a minority of the working population would still agree that a 35-hour working week is the acme of bliss.

A recent survey has shown 59 per cent of working people questioned to prefer higher wages and salaries to more leisure as targets in the forthcoming wage round.

Pollsters say this is an ongoing trend, with people feeling increasingly bored with their spare time and progressively less able to afford expensive hobbies.

How many engineering workers can afford to spend their six weeks paid holidays a year on Gran Canaria?

The unions could, of course, argue that a single opinion poll finding proves little or nothing. But a cross-section survey in greater depth has shown 57 per cent of the people questioned would prefer higher wages if given the choice.

Nearly 50 per cent were even prepared to revert to a 40-hour week to ensure that German industry remained internationally competitive. Many were even willing to do so for less than the full extra pay. But union officials in their ivory towers have arrived at decisions they insist are what workers want (or ought to want).

They decided on a 35-hour week as their long-term target in 1978, when the situation was entirely different from what it is today.

Just not enough skilled workers

In 1978 there was no shortage of skilled workers. Now they can't be hired for love nor money. So it would not disgrace union officials to shelve their 35-hour week demand until this shortage has been offset by training schemes.

That would give the employers an opportunity of making good whatever failings they may have been guilty of in respect of staff training.

All that is needed is to delink wage agreements and agreements on working hours.

This is a feasible compromise. Franz Steinkühler, who was re-elected as IG Metall's general secretary by an impressive majority in Berlin, has shown readiness to compromise.

Engineering employers' leader Dr Klaus Murmann does not even want to shelve the 35-hour week for good. All he wants is a truce.

Continued on page 9



Re-elected IG Metall boss Steinkühler. (Photo: dpa)

A union looks at prospects

The Berlin conference of IG Metall, the 2.5-million-member engineering workers' union, was an impressive display of solidarity on key issues by the world's largest industrial union.

With the forthcoming wage talks round next on their agenda, the 555 delegates re-elected Franz Steinkühler, 52, as their general secretary by a reassuring 87.7-per-cent majority. He was clearly delighted even though grassroots delegates promptly fired a shot across his bows by voting one of their number on to the national executive committee.

They were doing no more than Herr Steinkühler, who has a reputation for being somewhat authoritarian in behaviour, had told them to do in several speeches: to join the fray and share the burden of responsibility.

They readily agreed that trade union work must not be a one-man show.

The conference slogan was Shape A Future that is Human, Frank and Fair. The trade unions are determined to spearhead the trend.

But longer-term visions were vague and overshadowed by next year's wage talks round, talks Herr Steinkühler would be the acid test of trade union freedom until the end of the century. Next to no-one in Berlin called the 35-hour week, a trade union target since the late 1970s, into question even though there would have been good reason to do so.

The 35-hour week stays nailed to the trade unions' masts heedless of warnings given by research institutes, opinion poll findings, the head of state — and whether many workers might not sooner earn more money than work less.

Next year's wage talks round apart, IG Metall will be judged by the yardstick of how it reacts to social changes.

The trend toward a service-oriented society cannot fail to make its mark on a trade union that is rightly proud of its traditions of old. Offering union members with credit cards and giving IG Metall's holiday homes a somewhat trendier name is not enough.

The union has still not succeeded in attracting new members among growing social groups. Herr Steinkühler made it clear in Berlin that more must be done to enlist support among white-collar workers, women and young people.

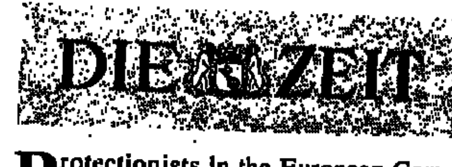
The Berlin conference marked the beginning of reforms within the union. They are a first step by IG Metall into the next decade.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 28 October 1989)

THE MOTOR INDUSTRY

European car manufacturers work at building a nice, impregnable fortress

The enthusiasm in Brussels for free trading is fading, writes Thomas Hanke in this article for the Hamburg weekly, Die Zeit. *Brussels is retreating inch by inch before the demands of the car industry. The main worry is Japanese cars. The situation, however, is full of complications such as how best to avoid back-door border controls.*



Protectionists in the European Community have had many setbacks — but in the end, they will win. European car manufacturers are already giving the heave ho to any idea of a free European market for cars.

It is becoming obvious that up to 1995 or 1997, and possibly even longer, there will be no free European car market. Statements made to the contrary by the European Commission this summer were just a load of rubbish.

The fears of those outside the Common Market — that the single European market due to come into effect on 31 December 1992 will turn Europe into a trade stronghold — threaten to become reality.

All import quotas for Japanese cars set by France, Italy, Britain, Spain and Portugal were originally meant to disappear by 1993.

Because of protectionist measures, Japanese producers only had 2.8 per cent of the French cars and trucks market in 1988; in Italy 2.1 per cent; in Spain 3.7 per cent; and in Britain, where the situation is more liberal, 13.2 per cent.

In the Germany, 437,000 Japanese cars were registered in 1988, 15 per cent of the market; in France, because of the limitations, only 74,000.

In the summer EC Commissioner Frans Andriessen, who is responsible for foreign trade, and Martin Bangemann, responsible for the single European market, asked their colleagues and the car lobby to note: "The European car industry must continue its efforts to strengthen its competitive position and demonstrate to the Commission clearly the aim of full liberalisation of national markets.

"The European Council meeting in Rhodes confirmed that the single European market would not be a closed market, but that Europe would be a partner and not a stronghold."

But now the enthusiasm for free trading is fading. Brussels is retreating, inch by inch before the demands of the car industry.

Ideas so flattering to the Germans are no longer valid, after the Italian and French protectionists leaned heavily against free competition, while local car manufacturers bravely face up to the cold winds of competition from the Far East.

German manufacturers of small and middle-range cars are pressing in Brussels for permanent protectionist measures against the Japanese.

Executives in companies producing luxury cars, however, have subtly recognised that they can delay a Japanese attack on their sector of the market so long as the Japanese appetite is satisfied by the markets for small and medium-sized cars.

Manufacturers of large cars, formerly so self-assured, are pushing forward the car range in which they are not represented, as cannon fodder, and hope to gain time before the Japanese onslaught on them.

In summer the Commission in Brussels conducted its first debate on general principles concerning the car industry in the single European market. Commissioner Martin Bangemann said: There would be no room for import restrictions or conditions for Japanese investment in the car industry within the EC in the single European market.

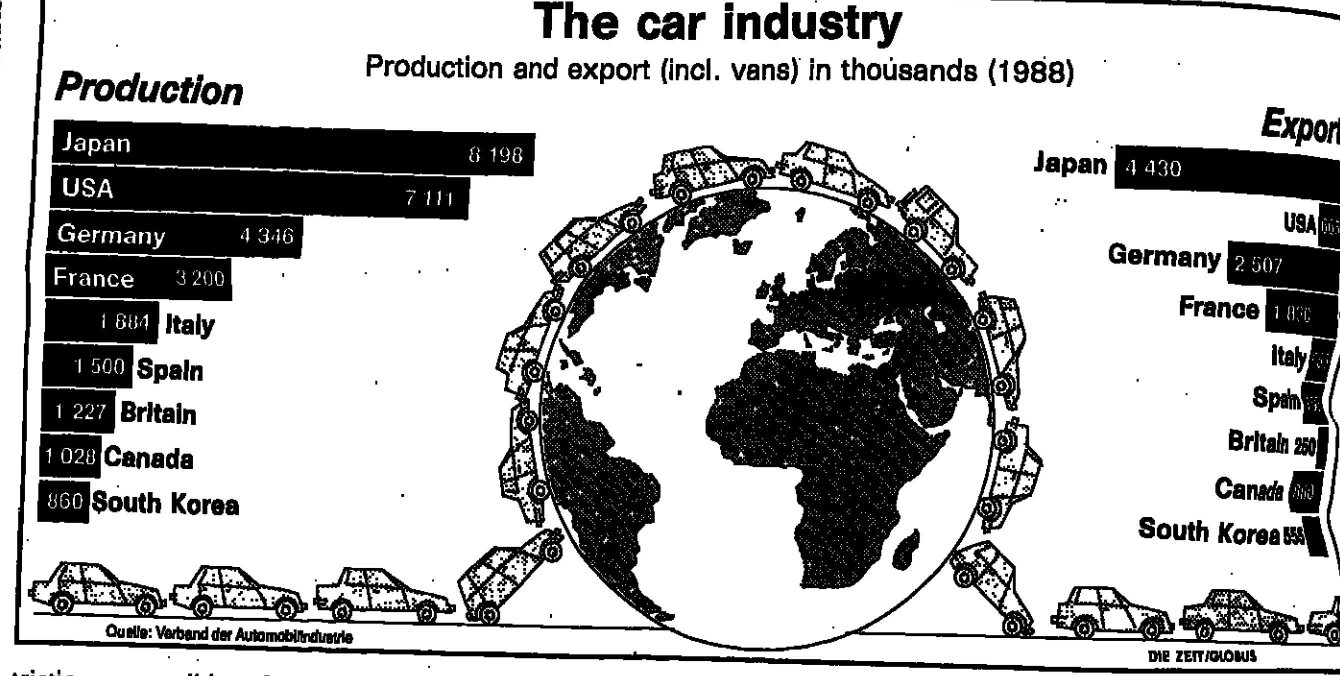
But when it comes down to the facts of these fine-sounding statements matters are quite different. Bangemann himself no longer talks about a free market from 1993 onwards.

Like the Commission as a whole, the Germans seem also to have discovered that it is impossible to tear down the barriers erected by member-states against their will.

There is no longer any talk of dismantling import quotas — the Japanese have a right to this according to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade: the talk is now of a gradual increase in quotas. They should be increased from between 0.5 per cent to one per cent per year.

At the same time the Commission would monitor how many cars entered the European Community in total.

By the end of 1992, when the single European market should be established, France would in fact apply a market share of between 4.5 per cent to six per cent to Japanese cars, Italy 4.2 to 5.7 per cent and Spain 5.8 to 7.3 per cent. In the following years the quote would be slowly increased. Just for how long no one is prepared to say.



Self-restraint deal by another name

The Commission has calculated that up to 1992 Japanese car imports will increase by 45,000 to 90,000. The Commission's monitoring should cut the flood of imports. It is nothing else but a self-restraint agreement, but it is not called that.

This concept, alien to free trade, will not only have an affect on relations with non-EC states, but it undermines the single European market itself.

Monitoring at Community level for the protection of the French, Italian and Spanish markets is in itself not enough.

In an open single European market it must be possible to supply cars from Germany to France, for example.

Until now France has prevented these "grey" imports with legal and technical refinements, which will no longer be permited after 1992 and, furthermore, must no longer be applied when, as planned, there are no longer any frontier controls.

Then every dealer can engage in flourishing business within the single market. He would in fact have a right to do so — if not what does the single European market mean?

The Commission now intends to block this cross-frontier trade, and the Japanese will do the dirty work.

In one of the offices of the two German commissioners it has been shamefully stated: "Within the context of the monitoring we must confide to the Japanese that the single European market will take time before it will have an effect."

That means in short that Japanese companies would ensure that there should be no free market in the car trade in the European Community as long as monitoring is applied.

In doing this the Commission is sensationally going against a principle which it has until now constantly defended: the free exchange of goods and merchandise even if it involves the "grey market."

Repeatedly Brussels has taken action against European manufacturers, who wanted to prevent supplies outside the works' network of dealers. Ford, for example, was obliged to sell British customers in the Federal Republic with right-hand-drive cars, if they wanted to take the car across the Channel themselves.

The monitoring Brussels would apply, however, would mean that Japanese cars would have to be intercepted at internal European frontiers — which would make the target of a single economic unit risible.

The muddled situation has been recognised in German Commission circles. One official said: "The question is how can we actually put monitoring into effect, because we do not want any frontier controls through the back-door."

That is not only a technical question. Even if Japanese manufacturers were to go along with the Commission's odd game, and a German dealer, who wanted to sell in France, no longer could supply, this dealer could complain of practices detrimental to competition and, if necessary, fight for his rights before the European Court of Justice.

Does the Commission in all seriousness want to be caught as participating in an agreement for market sharing?

Monitoring will be completely questionable if it is remembered that the Japanese have been manufacturing within the EC for a long time.

In 1988 about 300,000 cars were manufacturered in these so-called "transplants:" by 1992 these Japanese factories in Europe could be producing 700,000. Would these be stopped at the frontiers, which theoretically should no longer be in existence?

Some questions to be answered

Or should there be two categories of Japanese cars: those produced within the EC with a right to free trade within the EC and those vehicles imported from Japan with no such right?

How would the difference be established without setting up embarrassing controls at frontiers?

And finally, how will Brussels withstand the trade war with the US, which would inevitably ensue, if the European Community refused access to Japanese cars Made in the USA to the allegedly "free market" by reverting to monitoring?

There can be no protection for the European car industry without tearing a hole in the whole single European market. Other petitioners would see their chance as soon as one sector was protected from unwelcome competition.

The Commission itself explained in March 1988 what was involved: "The most important requirement is credibility of the whole matter...Without ceremony it must be possible for operators in the market to exploit price differences between national markets through arbitrage (buying at one centre and selling at another to make a quick profit), and in this way push through a standard price level, which is competitive.

"This is why all fundamental limitations must be removed, since the last remaining limitations would only be sufficient to limit competition."

This shows just how quickly one can forget what one has previously said.

Thomas Hanke

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 27 October 1989)

AVIATION

10 per cent of fares pays for wasted time

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

The skies over Europe are overcast by air traffic hold-ups that go from bad to worse. In June and July the 21 members of the Association of European Airlines (AEA) reported 30 per cent more delays than the previous year.

Delays were due to an outmoded air safety control network of 42 centres between Spain and Scandinavia and to a steady increase in air traffic and ground bottlenecks.

The association says nearly 10 per cent of air fares goes toward the cost of wasted time.

Economists, aviation experts and lawyers commissioned by an independent planning bureau of air space users says delays cost DM10.1bn last year — and there is no sign of improvement.

Last year's 330,000 hours of delays cost alarming sums of money in a wide range of categories.

Replacement aircraft, maintenance, extra crews and interest payments that would otherwise have been unnecessary cost DM1.95bn.

Deadlines missed, holidays ruined and general passenger frustration are reckoned to have cost DM1.06bn.

Detours are said to have cost DM3.5bn.

Less than ideal cruising altitudes, uneconomic take-offs and delayed landings are said to have cost a further DM1.28bn.

Manpower shortages in control towers are said to have caused productivity losses that cost the taxpayer DM1.2bn last year. In the United States air safety control costs roughly DM280 an hour, as against over DM700 in Europe.

US air space is twice the size of Europe's, yet the United States gets by with half as many control centres as Europe: 20, as against 42.

The Federal Republic of Germany faces particularly trying problems on account of its inconvenient shape.

They are so serious that airlines which operate in the Federal Republic are afraid they will be at a substantial competitive disadvantage in comparison with airlines based in neighbouring countries.

As Joachim Lischka, president of the Federal Air Safety Control Establishment, told the aviation correspondents' club, the number of flights delayed by 15 minutes or more increased by 50 per cent in Germany last year.

Over 30 per cent of scheduled flights in the Federal Republic were delayed on take-off. "That," Herr Lischka said, "is a state of affairs that can no longer be accepted."

Experts forecast it in the early 1980s, but the alarm was not sounded until 1987.

Counter-measures have included restrictions on flight movements by the Luftwaffe during civil aviation peak periods.

Last year the Federal government earmarked DM160m toward the cost of modernising technical equipment in control towers. They are to be re-equipped by 1991.

A further DM820m is to be invested by 1993. Extra control tower staff were hired last year in Munich, Karlsruhe and Düsseldorf.

More attention is to be paid to domestic flights at the expense of the ever-growing number of overflights.

In the medium term control tower staff are to be trained in the shortest period compatible with civil service regulations.

Trained staff are already paid a monthly bonus of up to DM280. The Bonn Cabinet has agreed to further bonuses of up to DM430 a month.

These bonuses count toward pension rights. Still other bonuses of up DM500 a month will not do so.

Control tower staff retire at 53. They are now to be allowed to work longer.

Younger staff are being hired on a non-civil service basis and temporary staff have been seconded from the Bundeswehr.

Transport Minister Friedrich Zimmermann has endorsed plans to convert the Federal Air Safety Control Establishment, a government agency, into a public company (in which the Federal government retains a 51-per-cent shareholding).

A decision on whether or not to go ahead with this move is expected before the year's end.

The new system is to be controlled by a joint civil and military management, with a supervisory board on which the Federal government, airlines and airports are represented.

This restructuring will, it is hoped, result in organisation that runs more smoothly, faster and more efficiently in terms of both manpower and technology.

But plans of this kind can be no more than makeshift while air safety control is fragmented throughout Europe.

As AEA general secretary Karl-Heinz Neumeister puts it: "European air space is at present arranged along national rather than along functional lines."

Views differ on the shape, name and location of a new "Eurocontrol." The aim must, of course, be to restructure the present system into a fully-integrated uniform whole.

The new organisation must charge all fees, run a central data bank, coordinate timetables, train control tower staff and supervise research and development.

It must also be in charge of procurement, operations, standards and the reallocation of civil and military air space.

The cost of these changes will roughly correspond to the losses, totalling approximately DM40bn, that can be expected to result if the present wastefull shambles is allowed to continue for a further three years.

Klaus Wittkamp

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 26 October 1989)

Lufthansa takes delivery of the new Airbus A 320

General-Anzeiger

For Lufthansa the winter schedule coincided with the introduction of the A 320-200 Airbus, an airliner of which glorious things were spoken long before it was regularly airborne.

Lufthansa plan to take the new model into service as a gradual replacement for its direct US competitor, the Boeing 727.

The A 320-200 seats 134 passengers in three classes (to which Lufthansa have reverted). It has a maximum range of 5,000km.

By next March nine of the 28 A 320s ordered should be in service. Lufthansa will then use them to fly to all major domestic airports and over 10 European destinations, plus Tripoli and Tel Aviv.

Lufthansa's chief executive officer, Heinz Ruhnau, is convinced that the new Airbus version will be the shape of things to come.

In the general atmosphere of euphoria no mention was made of the dispute over the transfer of the A 320's final assembly from Toulouse to Hamburg.

At the ceremony in Toulouse where Herr Ruhnau took delivery of Lufthansa's first A 320 the airline chief had no doubt as to the advantages Lufthansa would gain from the new model in the years ahead.

The A 320-200 used 40 per cent less kerosene than the 727, he said, and it was much quieter than the Boeing.

Lufthansa were expecting the "compact" Airbus to save 110,000 tons of air fuel a year, or enough to fuel the central heating of a city of 100,000 people.

This saving, admirable though it may be, must be seen against the background of the tons of fuel a day wasted by airliners circling over crowded airports waiting for permission to land.

The A 320 is much quiet than the Boeing 727 and weighs about 10 per cent less due to new, lightweight materials: carbon-fibre compounds used in place of metal.

The new model is the first fly-by-wire airliner. Several computers digitalise the manual control signals, compare them with flight data and relay them to their destination.

The pilot no longer wields a joystick. He handles an unassuming sidestick that is no more impressive than the gear-lever of a sports car.

The A 320 is the best-selling Airbus model. By the time it first flew, just over two years ago, 262 firm orders, 157 options and 20 declarations of intent had been placed.

Roughly 550 A 320s have now been sold, and it is only 18 months since the first A 320s were taken into regular service.

Training is under way for 180 pilots and co-pilots. Three Lufthansa captains logged 75 hours on board Air France A 320s (the French opted earlier for the 900kph jet).

In the long term the A 320 will be the workhorse of Lufthansa's European fleet, replacing both the 727 and the 737.

Lufthansa are proud now of their new planes but were initially reluctant to make the change. This hesitation has done Lufthansa no harm. Other airlines have sorted out the new airliner's teething troubles.

Carl Sigel, head of Lufthansa's A 320 fleet-to-be, readily admits that others have paved the way:

"It is fine that Air France took delivery of the new Airbus a year ago, a tremendous benefit for us, especially as we get on well with Air France where technical cooperation is concerned."

An Air France A 320 was the only one to crash so far. It crashed on a demonstration flight in June 1988. Three people died.

Rumour has it that technical failure was not to blame. The pilot is said to have flown too low. He and his co-pilot were suspended a few weeks later.

The new Airbus's in-flight computers automatically fly the plane out of danger zones such as gale-force gusts near the ground that have often caused crashes.

The electronic warning system reacts at lightning speed. Within 20 milliseconds the automatic controls work the elevators and spoilers.

A data-link system is planned to provide passengers on board the new Lufthansa Airbus with instant electronic services.

They will be able to reserve hotel rooms and hire cars from mid-air and will be briefed on connecting flights, including delays, and maybe even the time their own plane may have to spend waiting for permission to land.

Michael Berglus

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 28 October 1989)

Inside the new Airbus . . . should save enough fuel to heat a city of 100,000 people. (Photo: Lufthansa)

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One would be conceivable if only the two sides had not already mobilised their forces to such an extent.

The employers have little choice but to give as good as they get, although Hans Peter Stihl of the Standing Conference of Chambers of Commerce and Industry may have overstepped the mark.

Herr Stihl has threatened a nationwide lockout in the event of regional strikes. It is a little early in the day to threaten such drastic moves and his response to union demands was definitely exaggerated.

But the forthcoming wage talks round is sure to differ in many respects from its predecessors. More is at stake than either percentages or working hours.

Thomas Linke

(Die Welt, Bonn, 27 October 1989)

FILMS

Festival's drama came from more than mere cinema



Orson Welles once made a comment to the effect that film-making was basically an old-fashioned art because of the delay between making and showing.

He made the comment in Henry Jaglom's film *Someone to love,* in which Wells stood, or more often sat, before the camera for the first time.

The film as old-fashioned art — what a treacherous thought! That glosses over a lot, excuses a lot, forgets much.

But it is also a sympathetic idea in our fast-moving times. It could be a wonderful leitmotiv for such a cosy, informal, relaxed film festival as that at Hof.

That on the River Saale close to the East German frontier, has become famous over the past few weeks not through the glamour of a film festival but from events.

The town is just across the frontier and has been the first refuge in the Federal Republic of thousands of East German refugees.

This is why this year three hotels were not available for the film festival and many guests attending it had to sleep outside the town, although there was not much time for sleeping.

But this did not harm the festival's atmosphere, since the last performances end anyway at about four in the morning. After a beer or a glass of wine the night begins for most festival guests as the new day dawns.

There was plenty of sun in Hof this year and the street cafés close to the festival cinemas in the town's shopping precinct had a Mediterranean air about them.

There Henry Jaglom and Paul Bartel from America, Rosa von Praunheim, Gunter Rometsch, Heiko Schier from Berlin, Jörg Bundschuh, Oliver Herbrich, Christian Rischert and Josef Rödl from Munich discussed what Heinz Badewitz, the festival's originator and organiser, had found at home and abroad for this year's event.

For the first time a retrospective of Henry Jaglom's films was put on, films dating from between 1971 and 1989. Jaglom, the romantic, obsessive, witty dreamer.

There were seven of his films to be seen — all in only five days. Jaglom himself commented that unconsciously he had worked on a huge, long film about life, to which each of his works were like the chapters in a novel.

His films involve love, friendship, sexuality, the erotic, compassion, feelings, emotions seeking for a philosophical truth.

His films are encounters, conversations, experiences with people, iridescent, exciting, amusing, whether it is Orson Wells as a magician in *A Safe Place,* or Dennis Hopper as a Vietnam veteran in *Tracks,* or Jaglom himself as a person in crisis with determined hopes for a new beginning in *New Year's Day.*

There was much that was amusing at this year's Hof festival. Special effects expert Tom Burman made his début as a director in *Life on the Edge,* which rather backfired as a view of the grotesque.

How to make love to a Negro without getting tired is light and fluffy, just a little cryptic, describing the black-white every day life in Montreal with the magnificent African Asaach de Bankolé in the main part, the film directed by the — white — Canadian Jacques W. Benoit.

There were witty contributions from the Federal Republic, although not the poor opening film from Hans W. Geissendörfer, *Bumerang — Bumerang.*

But Jörg Bundschuh's sharp, anarchistic satire about Bavarian folklore, *Bavaria Blue,* hit the mark.

Oliver Herbrich achieved this only for moments in his *Erdenschwer,* his poetic and socially-critical tale about flying.

Rosa von Praunheim (pseudonym for Holger Mischwitzki) presented his latest documentary-like film, *Überleben in New York,* dealing with three German women in the American skyscraper city. This film was less shrill than is usual from von Praunheim.

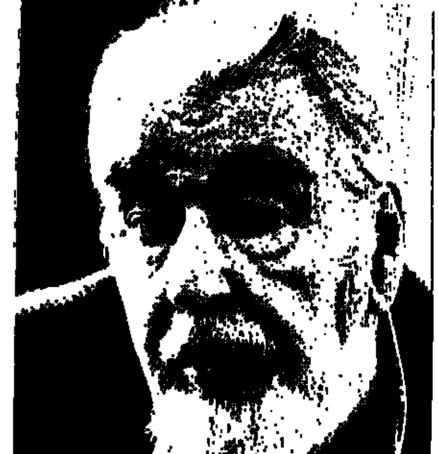
The discovery of the festival was Heiko Schier and his first film, *Wedding,* (a district in Berlin). It is a clever, sensual story set in Berlin. It deals with three friends who accidentally meet, two young men and a young woman, all in their early twenties.

Their search to live life comes to grief but they are not without hope. Reality is conveyed by the film frames.

The same was true of the film from Swiss director Christoph Schaub, who won the Max Ophül Prize. In his new film, *Dreißig Jahre,* three men try to adjust to life. The film is not so old-fashioned, then, after all.

Frauke Hanck

(Die Welt, Bonn, 30 October 1989)



Director Bernhard Wicki cannot stop working. (Photo: dpa)

At 70, veteran director keeps shooting

Bernhard Wicki, *the Grand Old Man* of the post-war German film, has just celebrated his 70th birthday.

He has directed 12 films and has acted in any number over the past 30 years. He created the shattering anti-war film *The Bridge,* made in 1959, one of the most important films in the history of cinema and honoured with any number of prizes.

Such a happy turn of events, when time and material meet precisely, are difficult to repeat, as Wicki himself said.

Any number of films by, or including, Bernhard Wicki, can be seen on television at present, among them one of his latest, *Sansibar oder der letzte Grund,* after a noval of the same name by Alfred Andersch, a West German Radio production, shot mainly in East Germany.

His latest film, *Das Spinnennetz,* starring Klaus Maria Brandauer, was released in September. It is taken from a novel of the same name by Austrian writer Joseph Roth and deals with the 1920s as the Nazis jockey for power.

While making this film in Prague in 1987 he suffered a cerebral haemorrhage, from which he has now recovered so much that he can work again.

He could not get used to the idea of stopping his work any way. He is on record of having said that he will work until his dying day. He could not imagine a life of retirement.

His father was Swiss, his mother Austrian and he has been married to the actress Agnes Fink since 1945.

He is enthusistic about hunting and Ernest Hemingway. He said that he could only find "real satisfaction and happiness" in work or in something to do with work.

Wicki was trained by the legendary Gustav Gründgens. He came to directing after having made many films of various quality in the 1950s, including *Der Zürcher Verlobung, Kinder, Mutter und ein General* and *Es geschah am 20. Juli.*

He never quite gave up filming the latest events in German history for he was himself for a short time incarcerated in a concentration camp and this has left its marks on him.

In 1970 he directed his first film for TV, *Das falsche Gewicht,* after a book by Joseph Roth with Helmut Qualtinger. It is the story of small Jewish merchants in Galicia.

Some years ago he shot the highly esteemed *Die Grünsteinvariante* for the

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Gottfried von Cramm Strasse 35 gains a new lease of life

House number 35 in Gottfried von Cramm Strasse, on the Hundekehlensee, was once one of the most elegant addresses in Berlin. The house, built by Oscar Kaufmann in the 1920s, is a major target for property speculators.

It has been empty for years. It is in disrepair. But for a few days it has recaptured a touch of its former grandeur — its and its rambling suite of rooms has been the backdrop for a film.

Alexandra von Grote, who directed *Weggehen um anzukommen* and *Novembermond,* was working there on her latest film, *Reise ohne Wiederkehr,* an examination of euthanasia at the beginning of the 1940s.

The theme of the film is the abduction and murder of physically and mentally handicapped children, and the alleged resistence to this.

Frau von Grote has written the film script herself, using motives from the novel *Verschleppt* by Franz Lutzius, expanding the material, re-writing it, and giving it drama, having a large international public in mind.

The film deals with the kidnapping of children and exciting plans to rescue them, about atrocious medical experiments, conflicts of conscience and the complicated and awkward hierarchy in the Church.

Her script singles out the fate of individual, endangered children and less courageous adults, who want to save their own skins.

There is a doctor, played by Gabriele Osburg, and her friend (Mark McGann), a nursing sister (Corny Collins), the warden of a home (Ulrich Matschoss) and a chaplain (Matthew Burton).

The events at the Franz Sales House, Essen, a home for handicapped children run by Catholic priests, forms the basis of the action.

When I entered the villa in Berlin's Grunewald district, I was more shocked by the poor condition of the building, the peeling plaster, cracks in the walls, ramshackle windows and doors, than about the men in SS uniforms, who went up and down in creaking boots in the corridor.

This effect has often been used in so many films dealing with the Nazi period. The scene, which I saw being filmed, took place in the director's office of a home for handicapped children.

It was the middle of the night. Father Schulte-Pelkum (Ulrich Matschoss) was dragged out of bed, because the first children had to be transported away.

He put up a fight, referred to the protest to the Reich Interior Ministry, which could be expected from his bishop, but he made absolutely no impression on the head of transport (Josef Sumner).

He sat in a chair, cold and aware of his power, and cynically parried the objections of the home warden.

Only a few sentences of dialogue had to be spoken, only a couple of steps made.

Heinz Pehlke is the cameraman for the film, which was shot mainly in black and white. He was responsible for many of Helmut Käutner's films and has had much experience in lighting and composing frames. When he was satisfied the filming went off quickly.

Frau von Grote gave the impression that she was experienced. She explained what she wanted with energy but calmly. She was not nervous when suddenly there were differences of opinion about how the soldiers should hold their rifles and whether the head of transport should place his gloves in his cap or beside it.

She said that it did not matter much, and she was right. It was almost the last day for filming. She seemed satisfied, particularly as the filming crew had kept to the schedule.

This was not a matter of course because the East Berlin part of the filming took place in a hospital in Lichtenberg, just at the beginning of the mass flight from the German Democratic Republic. Suddenly the East German film production organisation, DEFA, was short of hundreds of employees.

Frau von Grote said with confidence that the film would be included in the Berlin Film Festival. There is a good chance that this could happen. The script is strong, because it not only integrates historical facts in the action, but a special aesthetic approach has been developed for it.

To make the viewer aware of the internal world of the persecuted children, they play out their feelings, fears and dreams in a parable at a second level of the film.

Carla Rhode

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 29 October 1989)

THE ARTS

Opinion divided over plans for a new theatre

RHEINISCHE POST

Perhaps no private theatre has been built in Germany since Richard Wagner's Festspielhaus in Bayreuth in 1876," said theatrical impresario Friedrich Kurz.

He is the driving force behind a new theatre for Hamburg, to be built at the cost of DM110m, which has already been described as "one of the largest in the world."

Kurz, 40, is well known in German showbusiness circles as having put on *Cats* in Hamburg and *Starlight Express* in Bochum

Architect for the new theatre Uwe Köhnholdt commented: "At least in Germany there is no theatre of this sort."

He has drawn up the plans for the 2,000-seat theatre together with his colleague Konstantin Kleffel and a large team.

It will have taken 18 months to complete the theatre. On 29 June 1990 the curtain is scheduled to go up on a Hamburg production of Andrew Lloyd Webber's musical *Phantom of the Opera,* a highly romantic and bizarre love-story involving a disfigured man and a beautiful singer.

Friedrich Kurz hopes that this will be just as long-running a show as *Cats* has been, which has been playing in Hamburg's Operettenhaus for the past three and a half years.

Phantom has been very successful in London and Vienna, a success which should be repeated in Hamburg.

The building site is located near Hamburg's Holstenstrasse Station. From this site the theatre will emerge, hidden away among offices, vividly emphasising Kurz's pet idea of linking commerce to the arts.

A model of the future theatre shows that it is like the mighty bow of a ship with its entrance facade at the street entrance.

A cleverly constructed "flying roof" hovers over the flight of stairs which leads into the body of the building.

The auditorium will appear like a construction of steel and stone. There will be thousands of small lights in the walls, inspiring the dreams we all dream when the stage curtain rises.

The sobriety of the auditorium, which Köhnholdt [illegible] character of a workshop, should create a sharp contrast with the romanticised stage sets for the *Phantom* musical.

There were shrill complaints before building began, and the complaints continue, because of the noise in the access streets to the theatre site, bad enough now, and which would be accented by the arrival and departure of the cars of members of the audience.

The architect said that there would be changes to the structure.

The protests were much more vocal about the inclusion of the old Flora Theatre in Hamburg's Schanzenviertel into the design of the new building. Local residents were particularly incensed about this. They feared not only traffic jams in the narrow streets in the area, but also that tenants on low salaries would be turned out to make way for the yuppie brigade.

Hamburg's Senate was within a hair's breadth of having a second Hafenstrasse protest on its hands.

There were death threats against Kurz. The retreat to the new site suited well, particularly as Kurz, an energetic producer, was made sweet for the change with a million marks.

Kurz said that he would have remained at the Schanzenviertel district site "but the Senate could not guarantee safety."

He does not regard himself as being the answer to a prayer in matters concerning the arts, but he believes firmly in his mission of having set up an alternative to state-subsidised theatre, which does not need subsidies because it is commercially viable and artistically good.

"Germany is reactionary as regards the theatre. Commercial theatre is no mortal enemy to state-supported culture in a pluralistic society, but a partner," he said.

He pointed out that he needed profit, he had to earn it, "but I have also brought people into the theatre who were never there before."

Kurz works through production and organisation companies, which all bear the name "Stella," with investors who are, according to him, "interested in the theatre."

There are, for instance, between 40 and 50 promoters putting up the cash for *Phantom*

It goes without saying that they could, of course, lose their money, but they have made money with *Cats* and *Starlight Express* will be in profit in six months' time, at least so the management hopes.

The production in Bochum was not a sell-out at the beginning due to mismanagement and tickets had to be dumped.

There is no likelihood of this with *Phantom.* Tickets for the new Flora Theatre will cost DM160 each at the most. The average will be DM90, Kurz said.

He is getting no state support and there will be no complaints about the price of tickets, he said, "so long as we offer good theatre for good money."

Advanced bookings are well under way via the Hamburg-based company, Teleticket, set up by Kurz himself.

According to the spokeswoman for this company, Ursula Neufeldt, it is one of the most modern reservation systems in the world. People with credit cards can make bookings by telephone.

Anyone wanting to attend the prem[illegible] one of the VIPs invited, or shell out DM1,000 for a ticket (including champagne reception).

The producers hope that the audience will see star tenor Peter Hofmann wander through the stage sets as the sinister Phantom.

Friedrich Kurz is convinced that the production will be successful. Without any false modesty he said: "*The Phantom* will change opera in Germany completely."

But he does not intend to build any more theatres. "There are plenty of propositions, many cities have made enquiries. But in the long run there are not enough musicals to justify this kind of investment."

Siegfried Krause

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 28 October 1989)



Cabarettist Gruner (right) with Chancellor Kohl. (Photo: dpa)

The porcupine lies in wait for the Wall to come down

When people asked what they should see in Berlin the answer used to be the Wall, the Radio Tower and the Stachelschweine cabaret ensemble," said Wolfgang Gruner.

"Many people put us in second place these days, so when the Wall is down..." he added.

He is one of the most popular cabaret artists in Germany today, and for many television viewers he has been for years the embodiement of the Berlin "Big-Mouth."

Gruner was talking in his favourite pub in Berlin's Europacenter, reflecting on 40 years of the Stachelschweine Ensemble (the word means pocupine in German).

The "Kommödchen" Ensemble in Düsseldorf and the Berlin company are the two oldest cabaret ensembles in the Federal Republic.

The young cabaret group was set up by Rolf Ulrich. Their first performance was on 30 October 1949 in bombed Berlin's legendary jazz cellar "Badewanne," located not far from the Gedächtniskirche.

Too funny to be a tax inspector

The ensemble was made up of Günter Pfitzmann, Alexander Welbat and Joachim Teege. Wolfgang Gruner soon joined them and then Jo Herbst and Wolfgang Neuss, both now dead.

Gruner was trained at the Schauspiel school in Berlin, where he had played parts such as a tax inspector. Harald Juhnke warned him against taking these first roles. Juhnke said: "You can't do that, you are too funny."

The first "Stachelschweine" programme was called, "Everything madly comic," and was put on in the jazz cellar in between the music.

Looking back Gruner commented: "That was nothing more than student cabaret." But soon it became professional, as were the names of the directors who put on the 48 programmes to date, among them Rolf von Sydow, Wolfgang Spier, Wolfgang Neuss, Rudolf Schündler, Egon Monk, Horst Braun, Klaus Überall and Hermann Treusch.

WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE

The current show is called "In indifference Amen."

The ensembled moved from the smoke-filled jazz cellar to its most famous home, the "Ewige Lampe," in Berlin's Rankestrasse, where the "Stachelschweine" was given permission by police headquarters "to put on professional musical numbers and recitations as well as sketches by people without their being any particular high artistic quality."

The group's second move came in 1965, to the basement of the then newly-opened Europacenter. This was done primarily because of the larger and more comfortable auditorium available.

Appearances with the Munich "Lach- und Schießgesellschaft" on television gave the ensemble national fame, and made the troupe one of the most important tourist attractions in Berlin among West Germany's "more earnest cabaret fans," as Wolfgang Neuss put it.

"In addition," said Gruner, "we have for years had a loyal local following, who have been with us for 40 years and are going along with us up to 60.

"People don't have to sit on margarine cases any more and choke on dense cigarette smoke."

The younger, more politically involved, audiences go to Volker Ludwig's "Reichskabaret" or Hannelore Kaub's "Bügelbrett," if they go to cabaret at all, he said.

They were too one-sided for Gruner. He said: "They always attract the same public and they go along with this public's views. That's just boring."

Gruner is not too pleased with the disparaging description of "tourist cabaret." He said: "Performances of Schiller's *Robbers* or Puccini's *La Bohème* can be seen in the centre of any city today, but not us."

Gruner, who is now 65, said that it was hard work being in a cabaret. For health reasons he does not now appear in every evening performance.

"To entertain visitors every evening, when they come to us after the exhausting city tour — that's art."

Wilfried Mommert

(West Deutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 28 October 1989)

Gone with the wind . . . power is being generated from sun, wind and biogas at this station on the Baltic Island of Fehmarn. This pilot project is being backed by Bonn Ministery for Research and Technology.

(Photo: Telefunken Systemtechnik)

ENERGY

Subsidies stepped up in effort to encourage use of wind-powered generators

Wind power has its drawbacks, says Heinz Krog in Tarp, south of Flensburg. He runs two small wind generators to power the refrigerated warehouse where he stores goods he imports from neighbouring Denmark.

Tarp, population 5,000, has an industrial estate on which his twin 50-kilowatt wind generators have been hallmarks for the past year.

But they only ever generate their full 50 kilowatts in autumn and winter, when force eight gales blow. He doesn't need full power at that time of year.

So he sells the surplus electricity for a paltry ten pfennigs per kilowatt-hour to Schleswag, the local power utility.

In summer, when he needs the power, the rotor blades idle. Tarp is becalmed. He has to use grid electricity that costs him twice the price he is paid for the surplus he sells in winter.

His wind generators cost him DM150,000. The manufacturer said the rotor blades would give him no trouble for 20 years. But repairs have cost good money. He is not impressed.

Mayor Peter Erichsen, CDU, is more optimistic. He might even buy the generators for Tarp if Heinz Krog were to abandon the idea.

Since June new wind generator subsidies have been available in Schleswig-Holstein. They particularly favour inland areas where the wind does not blow as fast and furiously as it does on the coast.

The new subsidies were launched by the SPD *Land* government in Kiel as a counterweight to the Federal Research Ministry's 100-megawatt scheme set up by the Federal government in Bonn.

Bonn's target is to promote wind power so that enough wind generators are installed in the years ahead to total an installed capacity of 100 megawatts.

DM400m is to be earmarked for the Federal government's programme, plus DM130m from Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber's budget.

Federal government subsidies will be of two kinds: either a one-off investment subsidy of between 30 and 40 per cent of the capital cost or a 15-year subsidy of eight pfennigs per kilowatt-hour of electricity from wind generators.

Social Democrat Günther Jansen, who as Energy Minister in Kiel is paving the way for Schleswig-Holstein to phase out atomic energy, says the eight-pfennig subsidy will only benefit larger-scale producers in coastal areas.

So Schleswig-Holstein's subsidies will be more generously available the lower the local wind speed is: up to 30 per cent of the capital cost where wind speeds are a mere four metres per second on average a year.

When subsidies are applied for in both Bonn and Kiel, the taxpayer will thus foot half the bill of installing wind generators anywhere in Schleswig-Holstein.

This "windfall" has triggered a boom, as visitors to the first Husum wind power fair could see for themselves.

Husum hosted the event because the hard-pressed local shipyard has for years been trying to develop wind power as a second string to its bow.

Germans refer to a second "leg" but, as the shipyard's Udo Possmeyer notes with regret, wind power has yet to amount to more than "a big toe."

The shipyard may only spend 10 per cent of its man-hours working on wind generators, but one job in five at the yard is now directly or indirectly linked to alternative energy.

Herr Possmeyer is optimistic. Subsidies have brought 65 new orders for next year, or as many as in the past three years together.

Local authorities are the main customers. Mayor Erichsen of Tarp would like a 250-kilowatt wind generator to power his sewage farm.

Medium-sized generators are selling best, the Husum shipyard says. Thirty-kilowatt mini-generators and 750-kilowatt jumbos are not in demand.

Husum is not the only manufacturer. Vestas of Denmark, who used to export wind generators mainly to the United States, now have a sales representative in Husum.

Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm supplied half the rotors for the wind power park near Cuxhaven, on Lower Saxony's side of the Elbe estuary, but the big business on the coast is still being done by wind power multis based in Denmark, Holland and south Germany.

Yet Enercon in Aurich, Lower Saxony, have sold 10 55-kilowatt generators. They do business in Lower Saxony, the Husum shipyard almost entirely in Schleswig-Holstein.

Wind generators tend to break down from time to time, so after-sales service is of crucial importance.

Another competitor is Köster, a 125-year-old engineering firm in Heide, Holstein, where Friedrich Köster pioneered wind power in the 1920s.

He sold his patent generator to farmers all over north Germany. One can still be seen at an open-air museum near Kiel, but the firm's new model was developed in Stuttgart by the DFVLR aerospace research establishment.

Jan Böer, a farmer from Diepholz in Lower Saxony, took a closer look at the idea in Husum. He plans to share an 80-kilowatt wind generator with three other farmers.

They see it as powering grist mills and ventilators and providing their farmhouses with electric power.

The model he has in mind costs DM250,000. Bonn may foot DM98,000 of the bill.

Farmer Böer has submitted his application. He is one of 500 applicants who are keen to pioneer wind power as part of the 100-megawatt programme.

Jörg Holzwarth

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 26 October 1989)

Continued from page 10

East German film production organisation, DEFA.

If all goes well one of his next projects would be the filming of the 1930 Thomas Mann story, *Mario and the Magician*.

Bernhard Wicki has been awarded many prizes, including the Bundesfilmpreis, the Golden Globe and a Silver Bear from the Berlin Film Festival.

In a letter to Wicki on his 70th birthday, Chancellor Helmut Kohl paid tribute to him as an actor and director. The Chancellor said that contemporary theatre had to thank him for many productions setting new standards.

Chancellor Kohl wrote that Wicki's film *The Bridge*, a ruthless and extensive examination of one of the most sombre chapters in German history, moved audiences today just as much as it did 30 years ago.

dpa

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 28 October 1989)

MEDICINE

Allergies: a villain of the piece is hunted down



Running noses, eyes that water, skin that itches, stomach turning, lungs cramped. The symptoms may differ, but allergic reactions invariably follow the same basic pattern.

At the 14th congress of the European Academy of Allergology and Clinical Immunology, held in West Berlin, over 2,700 experts from all over the world discussed the relationship between allergens and the body's immune system.

In recent years medical research has succeeded in identifying immunoglobulin E as the antigen, or antigens, that take up arms against the intruders, the allergens.

The blood immunoglobulin E count of people who suffer from hay fever, skin complaints, food allergies or bronchial asthma is up to ten times higher than that of people who don't suffer from allergies of these kinds.

This higher blood immunoglobulin E count is often registered from birth, so tests on babies can serve as an early warning system.

‹Lasting prevention of allergies in later life is not yet possible,è said Professor Ulrich Wahn of the Free University, Berlin.

But he outlined to parents of potentially allergic children methods by which they could reduce the risk of illness.

The ideal therapeutic target of regulating the production of immunoglobulin E in the blood is still a remote prospect, but recent research findings have shed more light on the immune responses that stimulate or impede its production.

In the further course of the allergic process there are, it seems, means of intercepting the immunological messengers, known as mediators, that trigger allergic responses.

The fatty cells in mucous membrane and connective tissue play a crucial role in the allergic process.

The antibodies link up with them to make them send out the mediators once the allergen has been registered.

If the fatty cells' receptors were jammed the course of the allergic reaction could be brought to a halt.

Austrian research scientists Professor Dietrich Kraft and Dr Michael Breitenbach dealt with the use of genetic engineering techniques to decode the structure and effect of the main birch pollen allergen.

The advantage of biotech, they said, was that it achieved faster results and produced purer material than the conventional method of isolating pollen.

In future the new technique will, it is hoped, enable scientists to carry out tailor-made research and doctors to carry out custom-built therapies.

A team of Munich research scientists checked 477 five- to six-year-old children in eight localities in two regions of Bavaria to see whether the widespread surmise that allergies are on the increase was true.

Professor Johannes Ring and Dr Barbara Kunz of Munich University dermatological clinic found about one in five of the children to be suffering from allergies and two in five to be sensitive to them.

Twenty-two per cent had allergic skin complaints and 5.6 per cent bronchial asthma.

Oddly enough, it seemed not to matter whether the children breathed the clear mountain air of the one region or the fairly polluted air of the other.

This was not to say, Frau Dr Kunz added, that environmental pollution had no bearing on the frequency of allergies. Many factors were involved. More detailed work would need to be undertaken to identify the individual harmful substances.

Research findings from Japan seem to prove the existence of a link between environmental influences and allergic complaints. Pollution of the body's interior cavities is clearly a contributory factor.

Domestic dust mites are a key risk factor. So, of course, is smoking. Children whose mothers smoked during pregnancy are particularly endangered.

Scientists disagree on the extent to which allergies may be triggered by mental and emotional factors.

The congress president, Professor Gert Kunkel, Berlin, felt nervous impulses influenced the immune system, but other specialists said there was no proof that allergies were triggered by mental or emotional factors.

A somatic disposition must first exist, then the patient's state of mind — positive or negative — must be taken into account.

Recent research findings do, however, indicate interaction between the nervous system and the immune system involving neurotransmitters, which are metabolic products of the nerve cells.

When conventional medicine fails to help, patients suffering from allergies often consult naturopaths or try their luck with herbal medicines.

‹In China,è Mainz paediatrician Professor Walter Dorsch told the congress, ‹plant extracts have been used to treat asthma for 5,000 years.è

To ‹shed light on the subjectè he has spent years probing the composition and effect of natural substances such as onions or a Mexican herb, galphimia glauca, that have traditionally been used to ease asthma attacks.

Professor Dorsch said the sulphuric ingredients of the onion were what kept inflammation to a minimum.

The Mexican herb has definitely been shown to have a long-term protective effect against bronchial upsets. But some natural substances have both a curative and a harmful effect.

Clove oil and marmoset fat, for instance, are most effective but they contain too high a level of cortisone.

A group of 50 scientists at the Berlin congress set up a working party to probe the composition and suitability of natural substances.

Their findings, summarised on data sheets, should make it easier for doctors to advise their patients and to protect them from being taken for a ride by charlatans.

Paul Janositz

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 October 1989)

Snoring often a sign of a struggle for survival

Snorers can do more than make the decibels echo round their bedroom, says a Brunsbüttel chief surgeon.

They can make others miserable at night and themselves miserable during the daytime.

Wives, husbands or partners suffer from the nocturnal decibel count but the snorers themselves are even harder hit.

"If the worst comes to the worst," says Karlgeorg Lanser, "they have a chaotic day on which they don't know whether they would soon live or die. Snorers don't get the refreshing deep sleep they need."

At least one German in ten suffers from apnoea, or cessation of breathing, while asleep, says Professor Lanser, chief surgeon at the district hospital in Brunsbüttel, Holstein.

The hospital has set up a sleep laboratory where a computer records disturbances in breathing while patients are asleep.

The findings are borne in mind in the treatment prescribed, which is monitored by the computer.

Professor Lanser is convinced the DM100,000 laboratory will be well worth the outlay. Sleep upsets, he says, are the cause of many of today's "civilisation" complaints.

These are the complaints that seem to accompany modern living, trendy upsets variously known as managerial or yupple complaints.

When someone snores after a lavish meal or strong liquor he (or, of course, she) may not be suffering from apnoea. They may simply be sleeping in an unaccustomed and inappropriate posture.

Frequent, loud and erratic snorers may, however, be suffering from apnoea. It is a complaint that can endanger life and limb, Professor Lanser says.

In recurring fits of snoring the patient stops breathing for between ten seconds and several minutes when the tongue blocks the windpipe.

"As soon patients fall asleep a fight for survival begins," he says. Stop breathing and your blood will soon run short of oxygen. The body will try to wake you up, robbing you of refreshing deep sleep.

The stress caused by apnoea and physical reactions can have serious consequences: overweight, high blood pressure, heart trouble. Statistics show chronic snorers to die sooner and, often, suddenly.

But help is available. Sensors are attached to the body in the sleep laboratory. The measurements they take include the blood oxygen count, air flow through the nose and movements of the chest.

In the early stages of treatment the patient must lose weight, stick to a healthy diet, take it easy in the evening and give alcohol a wide berth.

If there are no signs of improvement a mask, with an oxygen pump attached, is prescribed to be worn in bed.

The patient undergoes constant artificial respiration via the pressure of air he or she is forced to inhale. The device is noisy, heavy and inconvenient, but the results can be amazing.

"Patients often get their first deep sleep for years and wake up feeling newborn," Professor Lanser says.

dpa

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 28 October 1989)

MEDICAL NOTES

A muted cry

The trend toward "fashionable" therapies such as the primal scream is claimed to have subsided because they don't really work.

This claim was made in Düsseldorf by Werner Stucke, president of the German General Medical Association for Psychotherapy.

New methods that didn't form part of sound treatment regularly made an appearance, but psychotherapy in general could claim to have been refined to such an extent that it could lend a helping hand in many more cases than it could, say, 20 years ago.

More and more therapists are looking into their own problems before attempting to put their learning at the patient's service.

Last year, Professor Stucke said, the German health insurance schemes spent roughly DM240m on outpatient courses of psychotherapeutic treatment.

dpa

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 28 October 1989)

Biting criticism

The International Holistic Dentistry Association, meeting in Baden-Baden, has renewed its call for an immediate end to the use of controversial amalgam for tooth fillings.

The association's spokesman, Cologne dentist Werner Becker, said it was irresponsible to continue using as a filling a mixture of materials that had come to pose waste disposal problems.

"*What is demonstrably harmful* to the environment," he said, "cannot be harmless to man."

Experts still differ on whether amalgam fillings are toxic in teeth, but talks are in progress between the General Dental Council and the Ministry of Environmental Protection on how to dispose harmlessly of a material that contains toxic mercury.

Dentists say synthetic materials are now available that compare in handling quality and in price with amalgam.

Synthetic fillings are more work for the dentist, but they last much longer than amalgam. They must urgently be included in the standard catalogue of dental services accepted and paid for by health insurance schemes.

Herr Becker said synthetic fillings were used at no extra cost in about 600 biologically-oriented dental practices in the Federal Republic.

The Baden-Baden course was attended by about 1,200 of the Federal Republic's 35,000 or so practising dentists.

dpa

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 30 October 1989)

2m are hooked

Addiction is said to be on the increase in Germany, with between 1.5 and 2.2 million people in the Federal Republic addicted to alcohol, medicinal drugs and narcotics.

This claim was made in Munich by Roland Sapper of the German Addictive Diseases Bureau, Hamm.

The death rate among addicts was much higher than among the population in general, he said, due to accidents, illness and suicide.

Most addicts, between 1.5 and 1.8 million, were alcoholics.

dpa

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 21 October 1989)

THE WAR ON DRUGS

Report outlines extent and pattern of consumption



A report on drugs drawn up by the Health Ministry and recently considered by the Cabinet in Bonn, indicates the growing danger of drug consumption in the Federal Republic.

At the same time the ideas of the police and medical agencies are being focused on the fight against narcotics-related crime.

The report produced evidence that there is an increased consumption of narcotics in the country. Up to the end of August the police recorded 4,582 cases of "first-time consumers of hard drugs."

In the whole of 1988 there were 7,526 cases, considerably more than the years listed for comparison; 1983 with 2,987 cases and 1979 with 5,673 cases.

There has been a corresponding increase in the number of deaths from narcotics. Up to the end of August there were 593 fatalities: the Bonn government fears that the figure for 1989 as a whole will be about 1,000.

For comparison: in 1988 there were 673 deaths, in 1983 there were 472 and in 1979 the figures show that 623 died from narcotics' abuse.

There were almost 85,000 narcotics offences last year, almost twice as many as in 1978.

The number of suspects in drugs crime almost doubled from 39,962 in 1978 to 67,150 last year.

The review "Findings on illegal drugs" makes it clear that the amount of cocaine used has increased. In the first quarter of 1989 the authorities confiscated 1,288 kilograms of cocaine: in 1988 officials confiscated 496 kilograms, and ten years ago only four kilograms.

Up to the end of September 499 kilograms of heroin were confiscated; only 537 kilograms for the whole of 1988.

Most of drugs confiscated are cannabis products, however. This year so far 9.7 tons of cannabis products were confiscated: last year 11 tons.

In the 1970s and the early 1980s there were less than five tons a year.

The narcotics scene has changed. Addicts are increasingly young adults, about 23, and no longer young people.

There has also been an increase in the number of addicts over the age of 30, "who are established in society and take to cocaine in particular."

There has been a drop in the number of "first-time consumers" under the age of 25 recorded by the police. But there could be a return to the past situation, since in the past two years the number of deaths from narcotics among people below the age of 25 has increased from 22 to almost 30 per cent.

The Bonn government estimates that there are 80,000 addicts in the country: a year ago the figure was 50,000. A spokesman said: "Drug dependency is not confined to any one particular section of society."

There is now considerable concern at the number of long-term drug-addicts, now estimated to be 20,000. Most of those in this group are small-time dealers or involved in drug-related crime.

It is believed in official circles that only when this hard core of drug addicts has been reduced will the dynamic powers of the drugs problem in this country be limited.

The report says: "If we are not successful we must expect that the drug problem will expand to the dimensions it has already reached in other countries."

There is nothing left of the political colouring, once applied to drug-taking, as a sign of expanding one's personal awareness, as was seen in the 1960s.

On the contrary, there is the likelihood that a "replacement ideology" will spring up, which states that "drug abuse makes one socially-acceptable and is a sign of greater enterprise and achievement."

There is a third group alongside the first-time drug-takers and the long-term addicts. They are usually over 30, not only socially integrated but successful.

This group mainly uses cocaine, and its members present the Federal Republic's drug policies with new problems.

A glance at the motives for drug-taking reveals an unpleasant development, according to the report.

A basic cause for drug-taking is the isolation of young people. They hope to escape the pressures of society with drugs. They also suffer from emotional impoverishment. Many are seeking for "spirituality."

The worsening situation calls for a "national plan to combat drug abuse." It is essential to bring all politically and socially interested parties together for a national drug conference.

The Health Ministry report listed five aims. There must be greater international cooperation between the police, the customs authorities and people involved in development aid.

In the Federal Republic, apart from the present authorities responsible for fighting drugs, special units should be set up especially trained to prevent smuggling and trading in drugs.

Instruction and advice help to prevent drug addiction. Help for addicts, geared to their needs, should be available in "the early stages," and a treatment and rehabilition programme must be developed.

The report said that research must be improved, and early in 1990 a special conference called for discussions with the *Länder*.

Citizens must be supported in their rejection of drug-taking in the formulation of a the national plan to combat drugs.

The use of "substitute drugs" or making drugs legal are unsuitable methods for fighting drugs-related crime, the report said.

Legalising "soft drugs" has not been considered. Legal measures against drug-producers and dealers are to be increased. The Federal Crime Squad is to be strengthened.

The report said that drug-abuse as part of the life-style of certain circles should be especially condemned. The number of establishments where therapy can be offered must be increased so that waiting times for treatment are reduced.

The regions must be supported by economic cooperation with countries where the plants producing drugs are cultivated.

Here also cooperation with investigating authorities was essential. This includes airlines and cross-frontier roads and waterways.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 October 1989)

Plan to attack both ends of the market

The Bonn cabinet has approved the outlines of a national drug plan. The accent is on prevention, treatment, aid for producer countries, better equipped police, containing the laundering of drug cash and making it easier to confiscate property acquired from drugs funds.

A national drugs conference will be called to discuss an anti-drug programme. Chancellor Helmut Kohl has called the drug problem, "possibly the worst challenge of our times." The problem was an international one. He said the police should no longer be less well equipped than the highly-organised drug cartels they were fighting. Drugs crime attracted other crime.

"If we let the matter drag on, then economic empires based on crime will be set up in Western Europe because of the profits that can be made," the chancellor said.

Planned legislation should make it easier to prosecute. The Bundestag (Parliament) is soon to discuss legislation which proposes larger fines and longer prison sentences.

A law givingthe state the right to confiscate property suspected of having been illegally acquired is being drawn up.

The third point concerns laundering money. It will be a punishable offence to help drug-dealers to smuggle their profits back into circulation.

Chancellor Kohl spoke of a "sensitive area," because a law of this kind could break up the traditional concept of bank confidentiality.

This is why the Bonn government would welcome a voluntary commitment from the banking community.

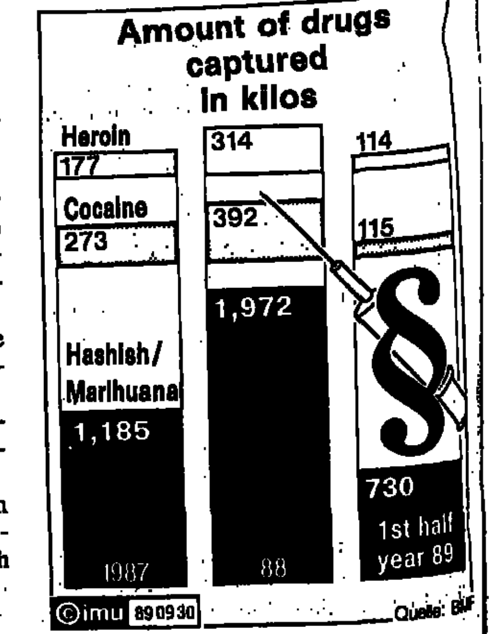
It must be made clear whether a customer should have to establish his or her identity when depositing amounts over a specific sum or whether a "description aid for identification" would be sufficient for a clarification of identity.

In addition the government is preparing an intensification of legislation covering the export of chemicals. Under-cover agents must be used, and within the next four years 389 new federal crime officers will be appointed.

The government also plans to increase the measures for preventing drug-addiction, and for advising and treating those addicted.

Stefan Kornelius

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 25 October 1989)



Probing money transactions 'is a delicate area'

Bonn government plans for laying hands on drug traffickers by tracking them down via their ill-gotten gains are regarded by Federal Republic bankers as "a sensitive matter."

Dr Sprenger, speaking on behalf of the national bankers' association, said that eventually the government's plans would affect bank confidentiality.

But police narcotics experts regard the government's plans as indispensible.

In a report on plans for combating drug trafficking the Justice Ministry said that investigations would only be successful if the banks identified depositors according to specific requirements.

Experts from banking and official are soon to examine how suspicious depositors could be registered following the American pattern.

In America every cash deposit of $10,000 or more has to be reported to the authorities. The Bonn Justice Ministry believes that such a system in this country would close an "open backdoor."

Experts believe that the turnover in drugs in the Federal Republic is DM1.5bn annually. The cash, mainly in small denominations, must be paid into the accounts of middlemen so that it can be transferred to the bosses in the background.

The Justice Ministry says that according to investigation officials "drug dealers can be identified at this point the easiest." Thought is being given to developing a "description aid for identification," which would reveal a drug-dealer's typical pattern of behaviour.

Bank employees could recognise suspicious persons more easily with such an aid, even if these people pay into an account less than the maximum which has to be reported.

This aid would also exclude the ordinary person paying cash into an account.

The Justice Ministry believes that only with such a system would be be possible to get into the worldwide network where cash is laundered for drug traffickers, but it still would not touch the bosses behind the operations.

Suspicious movements in bank accounts would also be included. The experts showed how important this second arrangement was by presenting some typical examples of drug traffickers' activities in the Federal Republic.

Goods, either worthless or of little value, are supplied on vastly inflated invoices and paid for.

Investigations have also led to transfer accounts "into which foreigners constantly make deposits in millions."

The cases, when laundering cash came to grief, are alarming. Two couriers tried to get into Switzerland with $750,000 in cash, for example.

Continued on page 15

HORIZONS

Ufos: still flying and still unproved



"The truth is hard, but it cannot be denied," says Rudolf Schäfer. Now was the time to recognise this. In front of him, on a table in the Frankfurt Congress Hall, there are books. One is called *Ufos and ihr Zeuge Christus* (Unidentified flying objects and their witness Christ). On the wall behind there is a poster: "Der Stern von Bethlehem — Ein Ufo" (The Star of Bethlehem — an Ufo). Schäfer, from Saarbrücken, in the Saar, is all ready to deliver his contribution as a delegate to the "International conference on communication with extra-terrestrial life."

Sarah Sapherson-Hine, a spokesperson for organiser Michael Hesemann, pleads to the press: "Just don't write Ufo conference." The fear is that such shorthand will detract from the conference's *Seriosität* (extremely important in Germany - Ed.). The more than 30 experts from America, the Soviet Union, Japan, Peru and Europe who had been invited to speak were, after all, "serious-minded people."

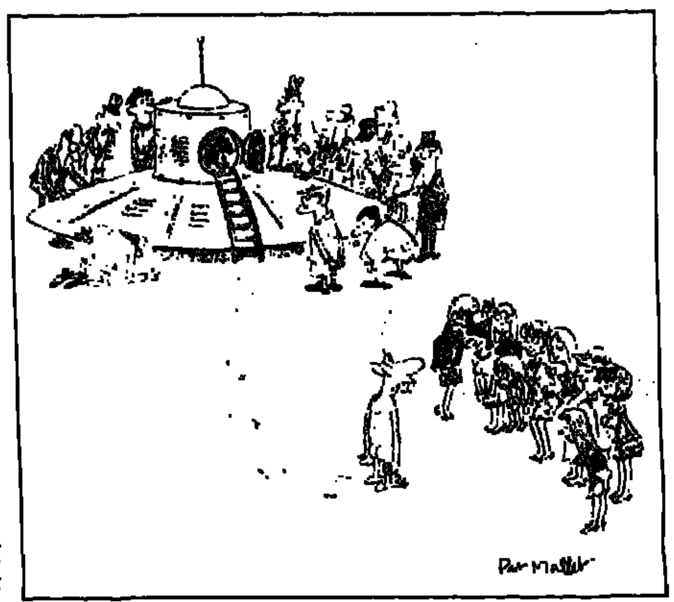
Hesemann introduces one of them, American nuclear physicist Stanton Friedman who, he said, had "clearly at last found the proof that we have been waiting for for so long." The audience, several hundred strong, applauded enthusiastically.

Friedman presented a supposedly secret American document about the "Roswell incident." According to this, an Ufo with four extra-terrestrial beings crashed on a farm in Roswell, in the American state of Georgia, on 7 July, 1947. The wreck and its four dead occupants were examined by 12 scientists and CIA agents. According to Friedman, the results have been kept secret ever since. A CIA man had confirmed the authenticity of the document. Werner Walter is in charge of Ufo investigation at the society of scientific investigation of the supernatural. He is sceptical of Friedman's claims. He said that, since 1973, he had investigated about 400 reports of supposed Ufo sightings. No case could be said to have been proved. Most of the Ufos had turned out to be hot-air balloons, planets or meteorites. He described as a fable the assertion that the United States military forces had kept hidden all reference to crashed Ufos and their occupants.

The Pentagon had investigated Ufo reports only up until 1969, after which it had issued a report saying that they didn't exist. Secret papers which maintained otherwise were false, he said.

And the delegates did want watertight proof. Frau Sapherson-Hine said that about half of the participants were "thoroughly sceptical" and wanted to find out more. Interest was strong enough for about 2,000 tickets for the entire conference to be sold beforehand — at a cost of 450 marks for the three days.

One of those to turn up was Sergei Bulantsev, a correspondent for the Soviet news agency, Tass. He appeared in a private capacity and is to report on Ufo landings in the Soviet Union even though he has, on his own admission, seen neither a living being from space nor a flying saucer.



(Cartoon: © Pat Mallet/IFS, Brussels)

But he agrees on one point with the American Friedman: "We have a great chance to exchange information."

The business of making contact goes on for the Ufo fans: "channelling" is on the programme. There are aids available to facilitate channelling, which is talking with extra-terrestrial beings.

One of these aids is a "head pyramid". It is also, at 298 marks, the most expensive. It is made out of gold-plated titanium and is intended to create vibrations in the wearer which "promote the body's perihelialistic functions." A form like a medallion called "nuclear receptor" is meant to turn "disharmonious energy" into something more harmonic. And beside them was the face of the Bhagwan, laughing out from the cover of a book.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 30 October 1989)

Convicted pirate-radio priest remains unrepentant

A Catholic priest has been fined 2,400 marks for running a pirate radio station — but he has vowed to keep transmitting. Father Johann van den Brule told the court defiantly as he was sentenced: "If the bishop says the station must stop transmitting, he should tell the parishioners himself. They won't hear it from me. They want the service. God has to be obeyed more than man." The jury imposed a smaller fine that the 4,200 marks the prosecutor had sought on charges of breaching the laws governing radio transmission. The charge was that the 64-year-old priest had for four and a half years operated an illegal transmitter in his parish of Breitenberg, near Göttingen, in Lower Saxony.

The prosecutor told the court: "He knows he is doing wrong. But if he places a higher value on the concern of the sick and the old in his community than the decision of the court, then he is unteachable." The defence lawyer wanted the Federal Constitutional Court to decide if Lower Saxony's radio laws were unconstitutional or not. The defence of right to free expression of opinion and to practise religion would be advanced if the court decided against the accused.

Work of man, message of God . . . Father van den Brule. (Photo: dpa)

Father van den Brule admitted constructing about 70 transmitters, including some for other churches. But only dummies were discovered and confiscated. The court heard that finding the real transmitter would have meant taking the church apart stone by stone. A total of 16 witnesses and expert assessors were called during the two-day hearing. *dpa*

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 28 October 1989)

Continued from page 14

DM900,000 in cash was found in a car belonging to three Turks near Bad Reichenhall. Bank chits showed that they had shortly before exchanged lira and French francs into this amount.

Other evidence showed a connection with a Turkish drug gang operating in Milan. A man who was arrested in Guadeloupe with 450 kilograms of cocaine in his possession confessed that he had operated his business via an account in a Bonn bank.

American officials have confirmed that this year $70m, demonstrably from drug trafficking by members of the Columbian drugs barons in Medellin, was transferred to Panama, and from there $20m was moved to Hamburg.

A spokesman for the Justice Ministry said: "Bank officials in the Hamburg bank, involved in concluding this business, were informed of the origins of this money from Panama, according to investigating officials."

In America, where it is mandatory to report cash movements over $10,000, the system functions well after fines were imposed on some banks and some bank officials were given prison sentences.

In 1989 American officials confiscated $140m after investigations triggered off by reports from banks and fines were imposed up to three million dollars.

The Bonn government's plans also include getting hold of drug trafficking profits. There are proposals in which, apart from prison sentences, fines could be imposed equal to the drug trafficker's total property.

The US has advised Bonn to tackle the narcotics problem energetically. According to the Bonn Justice Ministry, it is assumed in Washington that the drug cartels will turn their attention to Europe after having saturated the American market.

Volker Jacobs

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 27 October 1989)

IN BRIEF

That's it, cock

A well-placed shot from a .22 calibre repeating rifle ended the life of a rooster in the centre of Griesheim, south of Frankfurt. The marksman notified the police immediately that he had killed the bird, which belonged to his neighbour.

He said that he only wanted to restore peace in the area. The weapon was confiscated. The shot raised the temperature of an argument that had been smouldering since April 1987 when a young married couple acquired a rooster and 12 hens so they could eat unpolluted eggs following the Chernobyl nuclear reactor disaster.

Shortly after an official decision was made that the rooster by the name of Gockelchen was allowed to cry its cock a doodle doo, it was stolen by a person or persons unknown. A second rooster suffered the same fate last March. The third rooster survived an attack when poisoned grain was sprinkled on the ground. But a hen and 15 chickens died. *dpa*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 25 October 1989)

Arrest in race

When a runner set off in the Frankfurt city marathon, he did not think that he would wind up in a police cell instead of on the winner's dais.

During the race, a fellow runner, a detective, recognised the 34-year-old as someone for whom an arrest warrant had been issued. The detective stopped running and notified his colleagues, who made the arrest as the leading bunch of runners passed through the city centre.

The man was wanted in Nuremberg where he had been sentenced to a year's jail. Police were unable to say what the offence had been. It was also unclear what the result of this action might be for the sporting detective, who resumed his run after the arrest. And a police spokesman observed with a tinge of sadness that it wasn't even known where he had finished in the field. *AP*

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 24 October 1989)

Stage rage

A dozen fish dying on the stage in a Berlin theatre have caused a scandal. During a performance of a play called *The Interview that Died*, a Belgian, Jan Fabre, rushed members of the audience to the stage where gasping fish lay on a carpet of salt. They carried the fish away to washbasins in the lavatories, but it was too late to rescue them. Witnesses said they were killed by theatre staff behind the stage.

The Berlin society for the protection of animals said it is bringing charges of cruelty to animals. The play's cast decided the same evening to use either dead fish or imitation fish in the next performance. *dpa*

(Kieler Nachrichten, 18 October 1989)

Unlucky break

Burglars clambered up a fire escape to get into a film production studio in Hamburg and broke into the safe.

Unfortunately the safe was merely a theatrical prop. It contained just one film spool — without any film on it. The safe had been placed out of the way in the room after shooting for the day. *AP*

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 22 October 1989)